Daily Report
Soviet Union

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U.S. Obstructs Progress at Space Arms Talks

PM051319 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Geneva Talks"]

[Text] Geneva, 2 Apr—Work to agree upon a draft treaty on a 50 percent reduction in USSR and U.S. strategic offensive arms, as well as related drafts for a protocol on inspections, a protocol on conversion or elimination, and a memorandum of understanding on initial data, continued at meetings held over the last week within the framework of the Soviet-U.S. talks on nuclear and space arms.

Within the space arms group the sides set about working out a joint draft for a future accord on questions of observing the ABM Treaty. Strict compliance with the commitments prescribed under this treaty is, as is well known, a necessary prerequisite for the implementation of radical reductions in strategic offensive arms. However, the U.S. side's desire to distort the essence of the accords secured in Washington continues to impede successful work in this direction. Thus, the U.S. delegation once again proposed that the accord under preparation be called a "Treaty Between the United States and the USSR on Certain Measures Facilitating the Transition on the Basis of Cooperation to the Development of Future Strategic Defense Against Ballistic Missiles." It is obvious from this that the U.S. side has in mind an accord which would be geared not toward preserving the ABM Treaty, but toward eroding and undermining it.

As for the Soviet side, it is acting in complete accordance with the decisions recorded in the Soviet-U.S. joint statement of 10 December 1987. In this connection, the USSR delegation has proposed concluding a separate bilateral "agreement concerning observance of the ABM Treaty and nonwithdrawal from it for an agreed period."

Supreme Soviet Study Group Official on INF

AU051923 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Mar 88 p 6

[Interview with parliamentary deputy Vladimir Fedosov, secretary of the Preparatory Commission of the Foreign Affairs Commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by Olga Trofimova, NOVOSTI staff member: "In the Spirit of Glasnost and Realism; Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles"; date and place of interview not given—first paragraph is Bratislava PRAVDA introduction]

[Excerpts] Deputy Vladimir Fedosov, secretary of the Preparatory Commission of the Foreign Affairs Commission (i.e. its working body) of the USSR Supreme Soviet, has replied to questions put to him by Olga Trofimova of the NOVOSTI press agency:

[Trofimova] Your commission was elected at the beginning of February by the joint session of the foreign affairs commissions of the two chambers of the Soviet Parliament. What is the structure of its work?

[Fedosov] Briefly, it is working in accordance with the spirit of glasnost [Russian term used] and realism, in a demanding atmosphere, and with a feeling of great responsibility toward the people. The task allocated to it is to study in detail the entire complex of problems linked with the Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, which has been submitted for ratification. [passage omitted]

[Trofimova] What has the commission learned about the Soviet people's views on the ratification of the agreement?

[Fedosov] [Passage omitted] The overwhelming majority of Soviet people support the agreement. Some express doubts about the reliability of the American partner's word; others voice doubts about certain provisions of the Washington document.

[Trofimova] What do these doubts specifically concern?

[Fedosov] The military aspects of the agreement in the first place. Our people are asking: Why do we have to eliminate more missiles than the United States; will this not endanger the security of the Soviet Union and its allies? Some of them express doubts as to whether we have been right in agreeing to disregard British and French missiles in negotiations, in spite of our previous insistence on their inclusion. The people are also interested in hearing how the elimination of missiles in the Asian part of the country will affect the USSR's security. Marshal S.F. Akhromeyev, chief of the General Staff of the USSR's Armed Forces, and many military experts have convincingly answered this question (on the basis of numerical date) at the commission's sessions. [passage omitted]

[Trofimova] What other problems is the commission confronted with in connection with the ratification of the agreement?

[Fedosov] All kinds of problems—we have discussed matters linked with the economic expediency of the agreement; the ecological problems which are cropping up in connection with the subsequent elimination of missiles; problems of providing for soldiers and their families if the arms are reduced; and the utilization of freed technology (for instance, of the gigantic, heavy missile tractors) for the needs of our national economy. Machinery worth R50 million (together with various apparatuses and systems) will be put at the disposal of our national economy, and about R20-25 million spent on destroying two classes of nuclear missiles. [passage omitted]

[Trofimova] What do you expect in the near future?

[Fedosov] Obviously, the same that all Soviet people expect. First, I expect the assessment of the agreement (under conditions of glasnost [Russian term used] and via a democratic discussion) to lead to a responsible decision—to ratification, which would give it the validity of law. Second, I expect the breakthrough to real disarmament to be followed by other resolute steps toward releasing mankind from the nuclear burden....

'New Thinking' Applies to Conventional Arms

PM051543 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 6

[First part of an article by special correspondent Stanislav Kondrashov: "Conventional Forces... Impressions and Reflections Following a Tour"]

[Excerpt] Vienna-Berlin-Moscow—[Passage omitted] In order to analyze something new, you have to look at something old and traditional. In our country the roots go back to 22 June 1941, when Hitlerite Germany's surprise attack and rapid advance deep into Soviet territory, to Moscow, Leningrad, the Volga, and the Caucasus, put a cruel end to the prewar conviction that, to use the words of a song popular at the time, "we will rout the enemy on enemy soil—with little bloodshed and a mighty blow." The Group of Soviet Forces in Germany is the guarantee against a repetition of the past. Could it be repeated? Could a second Hitler come? No, history does not copy itself. Do the Americans hanker after our territory? No, because they adhere to concepts for maintaining their influence in the world other than territorial seizures. We, Europe, and the world have changed beyond recognition, and the past is not the best respondent to the question of the misfortunes which might lie in wait for us in the future. Incidentally, however complex the international situation might be, the chief misfortunes are already with us, in us, and within our society—hence the historical need for restructuring.

The fears of our opponents in the West are of a different kind. They do not fear a repetition of the past, but the armed force which we have built up (above all in central Europe) to avoid a repeat of the past. They fear that in any future critical situation the socialist Soviet Union will suddenly be tempted to achieve victory over capitalist West Europe by military means and that Soviet tank divisions will break through NATO's defenses, pour into West Germany, reach Hamburg in a day, emerge at the Rhine, and so forth. We are justified in laughing at such fears, but it is important to take into account the fact that they exist in earnest and not just for exercises in anti-Sovietism. They are shared by the broad public and have become the traditional basis for the policy of West European states, making them press themselves more closely to the United States, beneath the American nuclear umbrella.

The war of fears and anxieties is backed up by armed might on both sides. The more terrible the might, the stronger the mutual fears, particularly as the deep-seated sources of mistrust lie in the fundamental differences of the sociopolitical systems. The result is fruitless polemical techniques and endless repetition of the same thing. While not denying our own superiority in tanks, we speak of their superiority in antitank systems, particularly helicopter systems, and in tactical assault aircraft. They point out that they are increasing their antitank systems because we have more tanks and that aircraft are less suitable for seizing enemy territory than ground troops. And so forth.

A coward can always find a reason for fear. The more widespread it is, the more ignorance there is and the stronger the deliberate or unintentional exploitation of fear. "Will we be eternally threatened by superior 'Russian hordes'?" Theo Sommer, a prominent West German commentator, asks. His irony is directed against the Western ministries of defense and those "general formulas" according to which the conventional forces of the Warsaw Pact organization and of the Soviet Union above all could carry out a successful "capture of West Europe."

"Let us not panic," Sommer appeals, relying chiefly on data from the London International Institute for Strategic Studies, which are considered the most objective and full. "NATO maintains 5.3 million men under arms throughout the world, and the Warsaw Pact 6 million. Between the Atlantic and the Urals, 2.38 million NATO soldiers oppose 2.29 million Warsaw Pact soldiers. The reserves are roughly identical. NATO spends more on defense needs than the Warsaw Pact. And if people, first in one place, then elsewehere, are now to be heard wailing that Moscow is permitting an unimpeded arms buildup, the same is also happening in the West. Thus, for example, during the 5 years from 1981 through 1985, the number of tanks in the West increased 20 percent, while the number of Soviet tanks fell 4 percent.... Of course, the existence of disproportions must not be disregarded: The Warsaw Pact has numerical superiority in tanks, artillery, and military aircraft, but even this should not frighten anyone.... NATO has appreciable superiority in modern tanks. The East's advantage in military aircraft is considerably reduced if fighters for defense are subtracted. And there are other factors which make the picture more optimistic...."

It is a model of objective argument when people wish to understand the other side no less than their own. Objective, but atypical. Usually each side tries to prove that it is right. And it turns out that we are right in our own way and they too are right in their own way, and this satisfaction with one's own rightness means that the existing level of military confrontation in Europe is preserved. In short, this is old thinking. Impasse thinking. And the new thinking? It needs a constructive result, not marking time. The new thinking is the path of openness. Above all.

M.S. Gorbachev spoke of it at his Washington press conference last December: "We must put our cards on the table, exchange all the data, evaluate them, reveal the asymmetry in arms and troops, and begin resolving problems.... We are ready for most radical reductions.... Clearly, it is a process which will have stages. You cannot resolve everything at once. But we must start by sitting at the negotiating table and eliminating the asymmetry and imbalance, in order to radically reduce confrontation."

Cards on the table, including, it must be thought, military cards. Doctrines on the table. All figures and data. No less scrupulously than in the provisions of the Soviet-U.S. treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles. And then, as in the case of this treaty, trust must squeeze out suspicion and conditions will be created for a new breach, and it is not tanks that will stream into it, but common sense, which is tired of waiting its turn.

When you read of another Shevardnadze-Shultz meeting or of the first, and quite unusual, Yazov-Carlucci meeting, know that preparations are now being made to lay down such cards.

In fact, this is stated in open text. At the last meeting in Washington the Soviet side proposed to the Americans that experts begin coordination work as early as the middle of April and that the Warsaw Pact and NATO carry out an exchange of data on the numbers of armed forces and arms in Europe—from the Atlantic to the Urals—in the middle of May. The Warsaw Pact states' foreign ministers supported this plan at the quite recent meeting in Sofia. The Americans and the other NATOites have not yet responded in due fashion. Although they seemed to be wishing for just such openness for long years. Well, we will wait—in the hope that we will not get tired of waiting.... [passage omitted]

Deputy Foreign Minister Petrovskiy News Briefing

START 'Quite Possible'

LD060857 Moscow TASS in English 0843 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—The Soviet Union believes it quite possible for the treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms to be prepared in time for the forthcoming summit meeting in Moscow, according to Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy.

"The Soviet delegation to the talks in Geneva has definite instructions to work precisely in this spirit," he told a news conference here today in reply to reporters' questions.

Petrovskiy added that in this country's opinion, there was a linkage between the signature of the START (Strategic Arms Reduction Talks) treaty and the condition of keeping weapons out of space.

That kind of linkage, he explained, should exist as it reflected the real state of affairs and one could only agree to 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive arms if one was positive that the strategic stability would be preserved.

That concept had been agreed upon at the Washington summit, Petrovskiy said, recalling the instructions given there to the Soviet and U.S. delegations in Geneva to work to hammer out a treaty on halving strategic offensive armories and an agreement not to withdraw from the ABM Treaty, as signed in 1972, for a specified period.

Space Monitoring Idea Noted

LD060942 Moscow TASS in English 0929 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—Vladimir Petrovskiy described the Soviet proposal at multilateral talks in Geneva for an international inspectorate to monitor the non-placement of weapons in space as manifesting this country's new approach for verification to be part of all real disarmament moves.

The Soviet deputy foreign minister was speaking at a news conference here today.

The Soviet Union, he said, expected the issue to be given prime attention also at the forthcoming special session of the U.N. General Assembly.

"Judging by how preparations are proceeding for the session, the vast majority of nations take the view that it is vital to make efforts to prevent the deployment of arms in space, and hail any proposals towards this end," Petrovskiy added.

"One is surprised that now that the USSR is briskly making proposals for international verification and that time has come for respective practical action, the United States, which previously talked about verification all the time, is moving sideways," he remarked.

UN Disarmament Session

LD060848 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—"The Soviet Union expects the special session of the U.N. General Assembly on disarmament scheduled to open on May 31 to sanctify by the collective authority of the world community the first practical steps towards nuclear disarmament and give a powerful impetus to all the talks in limiting and curbing the arms race," Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, said. On its part, he told a press conference here today, the Soviet Union is resolved to do everything in its power so that the bilateral and multilateral disarmament processes should mutually complement and strengthen one another.

"We expect the session to give a powerful impetus to the speediest attainment of practical results on the routes of disarmament, where the points of destination are already visible," Vladimir Petrovskiy continued. The points at issue are:

The conclusion between the USSR and the USA of a treaty on a 50 per cent cut in the strategic offensive weapons and agreement on the observance of the ABM Treaty the way it was signed in 1972;

Complete and general ban on nuclear weapons tests and the speediest progress towards that aim through drawing up an agreement on additional measures of control in the interests of ratification of the treaties between the USSR and the USA of 1972-1976 and reaching agreement on a further reduction of the yield and the number of nuclear blasts;

Completing the work to hammer out a convention on a ban on chemical weapons and the elimination of their stockpiles;

The start of talks on a cut in the armed forces and conventional weapons in Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals.

On top of that, the session will have to devote attention also to accompanying measures in the field of disarmament: control and verification, ensuring greater openness and predictability in the miliatry field.

In today's mutually interdependent world, disarmament is inseparable from development, Vladimir Petrovskiy said. The Soviet Union totally supports the recommendations of the international conference on inter-relationship between disarmament and development taken in September 1987. We reaffirm our proposals on creating within the U.N. framework of the international fund "Disarmament for Development" and our readiness to discuss in principle the whole package of disarmament and development problems at a special summit meeting of the member states of the UN. Security Council.

To the Soviet Union there are no "blank spots" and "closed subjects" at the forthcoming special session, the USSR deputy foreign minister said. We share the wish of the majority of the countries to make the final documents of the session most meaningful and specific.

The Soviet Union goes to the session hand in hand with the other Warsaw Treaty member states, whose common platform was spelled out at the foreign ministers' meeting in Sofia.

The Soviet Union hopes that the session will become a forum for constructive and effective efforts by the international community for curbing the arms race, for taking bold generally acceptable decisions, a creative quest for points of contact between the positions of all groups of states.

The press conference was told that a representative Soviet delegation with Eduard Shevardnadze, member of the Political Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, USSR foreign minister, at its head will go for the special U.N. General Assembly session.

Regional Disarmament Needed

LD060910 Moscow TASS in English 0901 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—The regional aspects of disarmament will definitely feature prominently at the U.N. General Assembly's third special session on disarmament, Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy predicted.

"There is a relationship between the levels of arms and conflicts, although the causes of the conflicts lie deeper," he told a new conference here as he replied to questions from correspondents.

"In this respect, the European Continent has been setting a good example from the standpoint of a regional approach. The CSCE process started there and the decisions of the Stockholm Conference attest to the fact that tangible actions facilitating disarmament are quite possible within the bounds of the region," Petrovskiy continued.

"Other continents could make a contribution of their own to this cause as well. Africa is demonstrating a growing interest in the idea of a nuclear-free zone there. Proposals for creating such zones have been made in other regions as well.

"Examples in this respect have been set by Latin American states, who have signed the Tlatelolco Treaty, and by countries grouped in the South Pacific forum, which have concluded the Rarotonga Treaty and declared nuclear-free zones in their regions.

"These examples will inspire participants in the special session of the U.N. General Assembly to practical action as well. Regional aspects will indubitably be broadly discussed in the course of debates and in defining tasks for the future," the Soviet deputy foreign minister said.

Kabul Talks Assessed

LD060901 Moscow TASS in English 0831 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—Speaking at a press conference, Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister, said here today that "the aim of Shevardnadze's visit to Afghanistan is to exchange opinions with Afghan President Najibullah and the leadership of the country on a broad range of international problems and questions of bilateral relations."

Vladimir Petrovskiy noted that the discussion centred on issues pertaining to a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan. The Soviet Union would like for the Geneva talks to end successfully, but at the same time the USSR takes into account another possibility. In this connection the Soviet side is discussing and agreeing with the Afghan leadership various versions of actions in all their aspects in case the Geneva process does not yield desirable results.

"The Kabul talks," the deputy minister noted, "are being held against a good and constructive background which has been established now inside the country: The elections to the National Council started on Tuesday. This is another graphic confirmation of how the national reconciliation policy carried on by President Najibullah is operating in practice. This is evidence of the fact that both domestic and foreign aspects of the Afghan problem can be tackled provided there is an appropriate political will."

Central American Peace Viewed

LD060957 Moscow TASS in English 0942 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—"The Soviet leadership received with satisfaction a message on the Central American situation by Costa Rican President Oscar Arias," said here today USSR Deputy Foreign Minister Vladimir Petrovskiy in reply to questions of journalists at a press conference.

Since the very outset the USSR hailed the Contadora process of search for a peaceful settlement and always voiced its firm and unequivocal support for the Guatemalan understandings. Vladimir Petrovskiy went on to say that the Soviet Union stands out for the region's problems to be settled by Latin American countries themselves without any outside interference and with respect for the right of every nation to an independent choice of a way of development.

To promote favourable conditions for realizing these understandings, the USSR proposed to the USA to cut, on a mutual basis, arms supplies to the Central American countries. The USSR is also ready, jointly with the USA, to take obligations to respect and observe understandings on questions of security, control and limitation of weapons, which can be reached by the region's countries within the Contadora process, pointed out the deputy foreign minister.

Somali-Ethiopian Pact Lauded

LD060937 Moscow TASS in English 0917 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—The news of the Ethiopian-Somalian committee for normalizing bilateral relations having positively concluded its meeting has been received with much satisfaction in the Soviet Union, a Soviet deputy foreign minister told a news conference here today.

Vladimir Petrovskiy added: "We welcome their decision to restore diplomatic relations, cease subversive activities and hostile propaganda against each other, disengage troops on the border between the two countries, exchange POW's, refrain from using or threatening force to the detriment of the territorial integrity and political independence of each other, and solve all issues by peaceful means."

"These important understandings, in the opinion of the USSR, should help foster an atmosphere of goodneighborliness and trust and improve the political relationship between the two countries.

"We regard the Ethiopian-Somalian agreement as a striking sign of the new political thinking, realism and responsibility of these two countries. The significance of this agreement is not limited to their bilateral relations alone.

"One would like to hope that this action will open prospects for a political settlement of all other conflict and crisis situations in Africa," Petrovskiy said.

CW Ban Statement Hailed

LD060940 Moscow TASS in English 0919 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—"A joint statement by the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany on establishing in Europe a zone, free from chemical weapons is an important and timely action," said here today Vladimir Petrovskiy, USSR deputy foreign minister.

Speaking at a press conference, he said that the statement, apart from calling attention to one of the most important problems, that of banning chemical weapons, proposed specific ways of an immediate solution of this problem. "This action should be an impetus to completing work on a convention on the prohibition of chemical weapons. The adoption of a convention would conform to the interests of all countries on global and regional levels."

Touching on the multilateral negotiations on banning chemical weapons within the Geneva disarmament conference, the USSR deputy foreign minister noted that a great amount of work had been done there. "The reason for the fact that work on a convention has not been completed up to this time, lies not in the attitude of the overwhelming majority of states participating in the conference but, above all, in the position of the United States which prefers military rather than political ways in this question," pointed out Vladimir Petrovskiy.

Petrovskiy Receives UN Official Jonah

LD052032 Moscow TASS in English 1729 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—Today Vladimir Petrovskiy, deputy minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, received James O.C. Jonah, U.N. assistant secretary-general for field operational and external support activities of the U.N. Secretariat, who arrived here for consultations in the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

There was a detailed exchange of views on a wide range of international issues, including the enhancement of the role and efficiency of the United Nations Organization in the cause of maintaining international peace and security.

Gromyko Meets With UN Official Strong

LD051640 Moscow TASS in English 1553 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—President of the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet Andrey Gromyko today received in the Kremlin President of the World Federation of United Nations Associations Maurice Strong staying in Moscow at the invitation of the Soviet United Nations Association.

Maurice Strong set out his initiative to form under the auspices of the World Federation of United Nations Associations a commission named "The United Nations Role in Ensuring Global Security". He emphasized his great interest in the ideas of a comprehensive system of international security and enhancing the United Nations role, expressed by Mikhail Gorbachev.

"Everything must be done to save the world from nuclear catastrophe," Andrey Gromyko said. "This is why you can be certain that you will constantly feel the support of the Soviet side for your activity. And this applies both to our official policy and to our public organizations involved in international affairs."

"The situation in the world is largely changing for the reason that the historic Soviet-American Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles has been signed. And this remarkable event should be used for the further development of the entire process of disarmament. We believe this is also one of the tasks of the World Federation of United Nations Associations," Andrey Gromyko said.

NATO Mediterranean Exercises To Begin 19 Apr

LD051757 Moscow TASS in English 1727 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Brussels April 5 TASS—NATO's month-long large-scale naval exercises are to begin in the Mediterranean area on April 19, the NATO headquarters in Brussels announced today.

The announcement points out that the exercises will be of "routine" nature and will involve naval units of five NATO countries: the United States, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy, and Turkey.

Surface ships, submarines, patrol boats, aircraft and helicopter will take part in the exercises.

German, CSSR Parties Issue Joint CW Statement

LD052155 Moscow TASS in English 2107 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Berlin April 5 TASS—TASS correspondent Vadim Chudov reports:

A joint statement of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SUPG), the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the Social Democratic Party of Germany (SPD) was circulated here today. The statement expresses concern over the fact that an agreement on a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons has not been achieved to this day. Striving to intensify the talks on these matters and continue the efforts in accordance with a joint initiative of June 19, 1985 on the creation of a zone free from chemical weapons in Europe, the three parties express support for the call of the governments of the German Democratic Republic, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic and the Federal Republic of Germany to the participants in the Geneva conference on disarmament to continue their work in a constructive spirit and remove the existing obstacles.

The creation of a zone free from chemical weapons in Europe would be an element and a source of experience for the implementation of a ban on chemical weapons everywhere, the document says. The SUPG, the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia and the SPD suggest to the governments of the GDR, Czechoslovakia and the FRG to start talks without delay to rid the territories of their countries of chemical weapons or, accordingly, to prevent the deployment of chemical weapons on their territories. They should urge for the participation in this undertaking those states whose armed forces are kept on their territories.

The statement says that the document "The Principles and Fundamental Directions of the Future Talks of the GDR, Czechoslovakia and the FRG on the Creation of a Zone Free From Chemical Weapons in Central Europe" of May 21, 1986 could serve as a basis for the talks. That document should be supplemented with the provisions of a treaty on a comprehensive ban on chemical weapons agreed upon by the Geneva conference on disarmament.

All other European countries should consider the possibility of their participation in this initiative for the purpose of eliminating chemical weapons everywhere, the document says. They would thus earn the right to control the zone free from chemical weapons. This step would thus acquire the importance going far beyond the framework of European security as it links the problems of regional and global security.

Kurdyumov Reviews Past Week's Events

PM051553 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[Nikolay Kurdyumov "International Review": "The World Last Week"]

[Text] Stepping Up Efforts [subhead]

The past week has brought fresh weighty evidence that the advancement of real disarmament is the pivot around which major international events today revolve. This is natural and logical. Nothing is more important in the modern, interconnected, and at the same time, contradictory world in which we live, a world oversaturated with means of mass destruction, than erecting a barrier against the nuclear threat and ensuring mankind's survival.

Our country, along with its allies, is doing everything in its power to speed up the process of universal disarmament and achieve a world without weapons, violence, and wars. The latest convincing confirmation of this were the decisions adopted at last week's session of the Committee of Warsaw Pact Foreign Ministers held in Sofia, in the course of which a broad range of international and, above all, European, problems was examined and priority tasks discussed on further developing and consolidating positive trends in the international situation.

The documents adopted in Sofia were permeated by the thought of the imperative need to advance the disarmament process and the need for all states to refrain from any actions which might complicate this process. Pointing out that the signing of the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the

Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles was a victory for realistic policy, the session's participants appealed to NATO countries and all European states to take advantage of the historic opportunity and continue the movement along the path of disarmament and consolidating security in all spheres by joint efforts. The main thing today, the appeal says, is, while preserving and using everything positive which made the conclusion of the treaty possible, to step up the efforts of each and every state with a view to making the disarmament process continuous and irreversible.

The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles is only the beginning. New agreements must follow in its wake designed to reduce offensive armaments, prohibit the arms race in space, universally and totally ban nuclear tests, eliminate nuclear, chemical, and other weapons of mass destruction, reduce armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe, and also reduce military expenditure, and resolve other questions of security and disarmament.

The conclusion between the USSR and the United States of an agreement on a 50-percent reduction in their strategic offensive armaments while observing the ABM Treaty as signed in 1972 and on not withdrawing from this treaty for a specified period would be a radical measure. The participants in the Sofia meeting called for efforts to be concentrated on securing the conclusion of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic arsenals in the first half of 1988. In this connection the countries represented at the session fully supported the Soviet side's position at the Geneva talks and in the course of other contacts with U.S. representatives on this subject, of which they were informed by the USSR foreign minister.

The creation of a secure world and prevention of any war, be it nuclear or conventional, demand new thinking and a new approach to questions of war and peace and presuppose repudiation of the concept of "nuclear deterrence" current in certain Western countries. One cannot fail to see that implementing the idea of "compensation" and of improvement and creation of new systems, be they nuclear, chemical or conventional, would essentially mean abrogating previous accords and substituting some armaments being eliminated in the disarmament process by others. That is why we must not allow disarmament in one area to be accompanied at the same time by the unfolding of an arms race in other areas. An appeal rang out from Sofia for NATO countries to abandon their intentions to "compensate" by whatever means for the nuclear armaments to be eliminated under the Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles.

It must be noted that many sensible figures in European countries realize the danger of certain Western circles' intentions to retard the process of curtailing the arms race. In connection with the position held by British Prime Minister M. Thatcher at the recent NATO Council session in Brussels, where she advocated the modernization of nuclear armaments in Europe, V. Allen, a well-known British scientist and university professor, wrote in THE GUARDIAN: "Who would have thought that only 3 months after the Soviet-U.S. Washington summit, Thatcher would be reviving a stereotype which had become discredited? However, there have always been forces in the West who are horrified by the thought that the myth of the Soviet threat, built up over the years, might start to crumble and that the USSR would become increasingly attractive in the eyes of the Western public."

The call to step up efforts to intensify and further develop the disarmament process and create a "European home," where an atmosphere of good-neighborliness and trust would be established, conforms with the interests and aspirations of the entire world community. This is illustrated by the unending stream of statements from various countries' statesmen, politicians, and public figures in support of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate-and Shorter-Range Missiles, which is regarded everywhere as a heartening ray of hope showing the way out of the labyrinth of the arms race. This is also indicated by the numerous antiwar demonstrations and spring peace marches taking place and being planned just now.

Europe now has a unique opportunity to ensure a lasting peace and initiate the process of real disarmament, K. Sorsa, deputy chairman of the Socialist International and Finnish foreign minister, stated in connection with the conclusion of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. The Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles has for the first time opened up a real means of destroying nuclear arsenals and securing disarmament, R. Urbany, chairman of the Communist Party of Luxembourg, noted in the course of a debate in the Chamber of Deputies. He resolutely condemned Western attempts to nullify the accords enshrined in the treaty.

"Demand a ban on nuclear weapons as the first step on the way to the ultimate goal—general and complete disarmament"—reads the appeal from the International Peace Bureau, which encompasses peace organizations from a number of West European countries and the United States. A "Peace March-88" is taking place in Nigeria under the motto "Disarmament, peace and development."

On Capitol Hill [subhead]

The speediest ratification of the USSR-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, its entry into force, and its implementation are regarded everywhere in the world as a pressing task of top priority. It is, therefore, only natural for the world public to pay close attention to reports from Capitol Hill in Washington, where the final session of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, which is discussing the fate of the treaty, was held last Wednesday.

The Senate Committee's decision is well known. It has recommended by an overwhelming majority of 17 votes to 2 that the Senate approve the treaty and assent to its ratification. Thus the important lengthy stage of the hearings and discussion of the document is over, and it has now been handed over to the full Senate, which will, supposedly, set about examining the treaty in mid-April. According to UPI, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee has now "cleared the way for the final voting on the historic Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles."

Judging by press reports, most legislators and broad circles of the U.S. public greeted the Senate committee's decision with satisfaction. Both parties' representatives in the upper chamber of Congress, Democrats and Republicans, are inclined to think that the treaty will obtain much more than the two-thirds majority vote needed for it to be ratified. "This is a just treaty, whose fulfillment can be easily monitored and verified," Republican Senator P. Trible stated. "It is the first step on the way toward the more difficult goal of reducing strategic armaments."

THE WASHINGTON POST points out that the treaty is being sent for examination by the full Senate without the "killer amendments" which seemed likely to be adopted even 2 months ago. However, as became known, certain Republicans threatened to oppose the treaty in the Senate if it retained the compulsory condition that the President cannot change the interpretation of the treaty without Senate consent. The point is that while approving the treaty, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee included in the draft ratification resolution a proviso stipulating that the Congressional upper chamber's "advice and consent" be conditional upon the United States' adherence to the interpretation of the treaty reached by the administration and the Senate in the course of the ratification process. This has been provoked, as is well known, by disputes over the 1972 ABM Treaty. The incumbent administration affirms that it has the right to give it a "broad interpretation," thus making it possible to carry out tests under the SDI program. Most Senators deem this approach unconstitutional.

Administration staffers vigorously oppose this condition, calling it a violation of the President's powers to interpret the treaty. However, members of the Senate committee are not giving up hope that a compromise will be reached which will make it easy for the Senate to approve the treaty.

They Are Blocking a Settlement [subhead]

Almost 2 months have elapsed since the Governments of the USSR and the Republic of Afghanistan officially announced a specific date for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan—15 May 1988—in an attempt to promote the rapid successful completion of the Afghan-Pakistani Geneva talks through the UN Secretary General's personal representative. This date was fixed, proceeding on the basis that agreements on a settlement would be signed no later than 15 March 1988 and that they would correspondingly come into force simultaneously 2 months later. Thus, considering that the elaboration of documents encompassing all aspects of the settlement was practically completed by the start of the present round of Afghan-Pakistani talks, all requisite conditions for the signing of the agreements had been created. All that was required was that the "Liaison Document" should indicate the schedule for the withdrawal of the Soviet troops, and this was done at the very beginning of the round of talks. The schedule has been set at 9 months. However, several weeks have already elapsed since then; April has arrived, but the talks were deadlocked. It is no secret who is blocking the settlement. At first Islamabad made a stumbling block out of the question of the border with Afghanistan, which has been a contentious issue for many years, although the Afghan side does not exclude separate talks on this problem. The latter was prepared to compromise in the Geneva accords by using the term "existing border line."

Then, at the very last minute, Washington interfered in the talks and its representatives proposed establishing a moratorium on arms shipments, justifying their position by alluding to the need for "symmetry" on questions of such shipments, although none of the agreed documents make any mention of "symmetry" or a "moratorium."

The unacceptablility of such a moratorium is obvious, for it means interference in the Soviet Union's relations with a sovereign state—a UN member. Nor can one fail to see that one of the aims of the proposed moratorium and talk of "symmetry" is to drag through on the spur of the moment the idea that there is no difference between the Government of the Republic of Afghanistan and the leaders of the "Alliance of the Seven" and legalize their status as something more than a grouping waging a struggle against the legal government.

Describing the U.S. position, THE NEW YORK TIMES recently noted in an editorial that the problem of the Afghan-Pakistani talks now boils down to the following: "Whether to accept the Soviet proposal to withdraw all troops over 9 months in exchange for the cessation of U.S aid to the rebels or insist on some kind of parallel cessation of Soviet aid with a view to ensuring symmetry." The article says that hardliners are demanding the cessation of aid from both sides. "But you get the impression," the newspaper writes, "that to a greater extent, they are trying to prevent an agreement."

In his turn S. Harrison, a newspaper commentator, thinks: "It is quite possible that America has missed a good opportunity by putting forward unrealistic demands for changes in the planned peace agreement under UN auspices."

In an interview with RABOTNICHESKOYE DELO, E.A Shevardnadze pointed out that it would probably be better if the United States were to become a guarantor of agreements on a settlement in Afghanistan. But it is quite possible to complete the Geneva process without U.S. guarantees. In connection with the U.S. side's effective repudiation of its previously expressed readiness to take part in a political settlement of the situation around Afghanistan on the basis of the Geneva agreements, a CPSU Central Committee Politburo session held on 31 March examined options for the Soviet Union's further steps on this question.

United States & Canada

More 'Civilized' U.S.-USSR Relations Hailed

PM060915 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 30 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Article by Stanislav Kondrashov under the rubric "Political Observer's Opinion": "Civilized Behavior"]

[Text] These days statesmen are stealing journalists' thunder. After E.A. Shevardnadze's visit to Washington, what can you add to what he himself said before his departure from there? What can you add, both by way of information and as commentary? But I would like to take my cue for this discussion from one figure which at first so surprised me that I thought I had misheard. At his press conference broadcast on television, the USSR foreign minister said that over the last 2 and 1/2 years he has met with the U.S. secretary of state 23 (!) times. Of course, he did not mean the number of visits to Washington or Moscow, but the total number of sessions when the two men have sat down at the same table in the same place—in addition to Moscow and Washington, Geneva, Reykjavik, and New York, where the annual UN General Assembly session provides them with yet another occasion for a meeting.

Be that as it may. The figure amazes anyone who, like the author of these lines, has been following the state of Soviet-U.S. relations for several years and even several decades. In full view of everyone, a change has occurred (how long will it last?) which we still do not fully realize. What had been more the exception has become the norm—regular contacts between the two nuclear powers at a high level. And at summit level, if you take into account the fact that the ministers are now meeting monthly to prepare for M.S. Gorbachev's fourth meeting with R. Reagan in the last 2 and 1/2 years. That is a fact without parallel in the postwar years—and also the war years, when we were allies, and the prewar years, when there was not a single meeting of this kind.

But arithmetic, I may be told, is only arithmetic. Sorry. When it concerns relations between countries like the USSR and the United States in this tense nuclear age of ours, it is arithmetic with important political implications. I would venture to formulate it thus: At long last our relations are acquiring a **civilized** [boldface as published] character.

In order to be surprised, you have to forget the present and remember how things were. Around 2 years ago this familiar but, as far as I remember, hitherto never emphasized word—civilization—was first applied to our foreign policy tasks and to internatinal life in general. Now it has been pushed into the background by other buzzwords from the current changeable political lexicon. But a state of civilized behavior has arrived and been established. At any rate in certain important dimensions.

Remember the alarm and gloom that existed—and was whipped up—in relations between the two countries 2 or 3 years ago, when the treaty on one type of nuclear missiles (SALT-II) was fizzling out and other nuclear missiles—intermediate- and shorter-range missiles—were being stockpiled in ever-increasing numbers. Now we fear each other less. Not because Shevardnadze and Shultz last week attended a successful experimental communications session between the Washington and Moscow centers for the reduction of the nuclear danger. But because we trust each other more and we understand each other better. We are going to eliminate missiles intended for Europe. We meet more often, and threaten each other less. The stereotypes of our political consciousness are changing: We are no longer haunted by the vision that on the other side someone's insane, fanatical hand is reaching for the nuclear button. Journalists, even though they continue out of inertia to create the enemy image, are talking for all they are worth about destroying and smashing it.

In short, the world, as we and the Americans see it from our two countries preoccupied with each other, has become calmer. Although the pain of Afghanistan—our pain—remains. Nicaragua, the Iran-Iraq war, the riots by the Palestinians in their Israeli-occupied land remain....

At his press conference in Washington, giving his assessment of the last round of talks, our minister said: "Of course, not everything went smoothly for us—we did not expect this. There were differences and they remain. But they almost all reflect divergences on the nature of the problems and almost all are free from propaganda admixtures."

Yes, in Soviet-U.S. relations in recent years there has been significantly less propaganda. Perhaps this is taking the bread out of some journalists' mouths. Never mind, they will have to retrain. You cannot spend your whole life feeding yourself and others on the rotten meat of hatred (as Martin Luther King put it).

Civilized behavior is an extremely broad concept. Ideally it presupposes a world without wars in which all interstate disputes are resolved by political means. Thus civilized behavior is a synonym of the new thinking, which in its turn can be called the common sense of the nuclear age.

If, however, we descend from the heights of the ideal to our far from ideal earth, then civilized behavior presupposes a series of more narrow but valuable qualities. For example, tolerance, because intolerance means the presence of one of two seemingly diametrically opposed but almost equally dangerous complexes—inferiority and superiority complexes. For example, statecraft which is directed not at cheating the partner, but at arranging a balance of interests to mutual advantage, because you have grasped that the partner is far from a simpleton and that to cheat him is to cheat yourself and your own people—in this interconnected world.

Civilized behavior is a difficult, normal-working, calm, and unhysterical workmanlike process of resolving the existing complicated problems. And the impressive figure of 23 will increase in April and even more in May.

So that the picture will not look too optimistic, I will add one more definition to the many so far: Civilized behavior is not results. It is only the path to good results without which they cannot be achieved.

I am leaving an extremely important question out of the scope of my discussion: Why has the present degree of civilized behavior in Soviet-U.S. relations become possible? Why precisely now? Statesmen and journalists have repeatedly answered these questions. To recall briefly the answers, the main objective factor is the insanity of the stockpiled arsenals of nuclear weapons and the danger stemming from the two countries' continuing nuclear rivalry. The coincidence of political cycles in the United States and the Soviet Union which are different but conducive to dialogue has assisted to a decisive degree. President Reagan, after implementing a powerful military buildup [stroitelstvo] in the first half of his term of office, started to meet growing opposition from Congress and the public, and his desire to go down in U.S. history as a peacemaker also became firmly established. In our country the new leadership, which took over the grim legacy of the stagnant, and also in many respects the "pre-stagnant" era, realized more clearly than ever the historic need for radical restructuring within the country, a restructuring which can only be accompanied by an acutely sober look at the world and new approaches in international policy.

And although the question "How long will it last?" does not depend solely on us and remains without a clear-cut answer, we have the right to feel satisfaction at the civilized attitude which has been achieved in Soviet-U.S. relations. It is an insufficient but necessary precondition for the fruitfulness of those relations in building a better, calm world.

Arbatov Encourages Trade Relations With U.S.

LD060839 Mosow TASS in English 0650 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—The times call for a new approach to international cooperation in trade and the economy, said Academician Georgiy Arbatov, director of the Institute of the USA and Canada of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. He was speaking in an interview with a TASS correspondent before the start of the annual eleventh meeting of the U.S.-Soviet Trade and Economic Council, which is to due to open in Moscow on April 12th.

A broadening of East-West trade would improve the international atmosphere and help resolve many acute international economic problems, Georgiy Arbatov said.

Since today, production in the USA, the EEC and Japan, for example, is broadening speedier than the solvent market, as a result a part of the products remains unsold. Because of a huge debt the developing countries cease to be a commodity market since they have to introduce the regime of "tightening the belts" to be able to service the interest on principal debt alone. As far as the socialist countries are concerned, the West has limited its trade with them on political grounds, is trying to narrow the sphere of the international division of labour. As a result the market for the sale of the products made in the Western countries is quite narrow.

The attempts of the USA at settling the problem through an infinite remaining of the narrow market through attempts at forcing the allies to reduce their exports to the USA and purchase more U.S.-made goods lead to nothing. The EEC and Japan are taking retaliatory measures, and the situation worsens as a whole. Sooner or later this will inevitably lead to economic disaster, to great upheavals.

The way out of the situation lies not through recarving the same narrowed market, but through making it a truly world-wide one. To that end the West should change its policy both vis-a-vis the developing countries and the USSR and the other socialist countries, outline, at last, a long term strategy for business cooperation. I hope, Arbatov said, that there will be no few far-sighted people in the USA who will understand the new realities of the present, the political and eocnomic interdependence between the countries of the world.

Nowadays Soviet-American trade does not develop not because there are no potentialities for that, but because the whole system of discriminatory measures against the USSR created by the USA during the cold war years remains untouched: The lack of the most favoured nation treatment in trade with the USSR, the denial of loans and the ban on export to the USSR of numerous commodities under the pretext of the need for protecting the security of the USA. Yet it simply makes no sense for the USSR to do trade with the USA without purchasing the most advanced products, since the USSR is a country of advanced technology, in which the USA purchases more licenses than it sells back to it.

The field of the common Soviet-American interests, which in the past included only the security fields, is broadening today. Thus both the USSR and the USA have a stake in cutting military spendings: The USSR needs that for accelerating perestroya and developing the country, the USA—for reducing the excessive federal budget deficit. The new approach calls for common sense, and it must be believed that our partners in the

USA will follow the dictates of common sense rather than be guided by the biased attitude fostered way back in the cold war times, the scholar said.

USIA Accused of 'Misinformation' Campaign

LD051754 Moscow TASS in English 1719 GMT 5 Apr 88

["TASS Commentary"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—TASS political news analyst Vladimir Matyash writes:

The United States Information Agency (USIA) has prepared another report for the Chamber of Representatives of the U.S. Congress. The report groundlessly accuses the USSR of waging a "campaign of misinformation". Judging by broadcasts of the Voice of America and reports of news agencies, that tendentious document means another attempt to present the matters in such a way as if the Soviet Union, contrary to its promise to stop such practice, continues waging a "campaign of misinformation" against the USA.

Analysing the U.S. charges that the Soviet Union is engaged in misinformation against the USA one arrives at the conclusion that these charges are based on a postulate which Americans accept without proofs, namely that if anything denigrating America is reported, the Soviet Union is invariably behind this.

On the basis of such a view, the "presumption of innocence" is denied to the Soviet Union. It is guilty regardless of the fact that proofs do not exist. If an unbiased view is taken of the matter, it is easy to see that stubborn and groundless attempts to ascribe to the Soviet Union anything Washington chooses mean a real campaign of misinformation.

Just a few examples of such scopeful anti-Soviet campaigns provoked by governmental bodies of the USA.

1. There were reports by the Department of State alleging that the USSR together with Vietnam used toxic chemicals in the form of "yellow rain" in South East Asia. It later became known, which the U.S. press reported too, that serious scientists did not believe such reports from the very start, but the U.S. Department of State refused to heed their opinion.

2. Americans no longer recall how indignant they were at the "perfidy" of the KGB which, allegedly, dusted staffers of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow with special powder to trace their ties with Russians. Not even the author of novels about James Bond dared use such absurdities in his writings. Meanwhile, accusations were made by representatives of the embassy and other officials. They later had to admit, naturally without any publicity, and also to Americans that such accusations have been groundless.

3. The story about another "act of inhumanity" by the KGB that "irradiated" staffers of the U.S. Embassy in Moscow flopped in the same way. For several years that fable appeared on the pages of American newspapers. How many angry speeches were made in the Congress in this respect. The fable died its natural death.

4. Striking examples of falsification can be seen in reports about violations of human rights in the USSR. What is the worth of the assertion that one of the dissidents was imprisoned for cutting Christ's image out of wood. American correspondents in Moscow could testify that many images of Christ can be seen on paintings at the open exhibition in Izmailovo each weekend. (Earlier this exhibition was held at the Bitsa Park). And according to the Department of State the artists who paint such canvases should long have been in prison.

5. Washington persistently repeats the lie that Soviet soldiers in Afghanistan use booby-traps camouflaged as toys to kill children. And Washington, naturally, overlooks the fact that tens of thousands of peaceful Afghans were brutally murdered or maimed during the undeclared war waged against the Republic of Afghanistan.

Against the background of all these facts it is ever more surprising that the one who makes groundless accusations places the fault at the wrong door. It is precisely USIA that at the encouragement of the CIA, the Pentagon and other governmental services is engaged in misinformation directed against the USSR, thus flouting the principles of morality and implanting the "enemy image".

U.S. Will Sell 75 More F-16's to Israel

LD051726 Moscow TASS in English 1616 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] London April 5 TASS—The Reagan administration has notified Congress of its intention to sell Israel 75 modified F-16 fighter bombers worth two billion dollars. REUTER news agency reported from Washington that the White House's step was directed at strengthening Israel's safety.

If the Pentagon's proposal is approved by Congress (which is expected), the sale of the batch of combat aircraft will become another stage in the implementation of a memorandum of understanding between Israel and the United States, which provides for annual deliveries of modern weapons for Washington's strategic ally.

At present, the Israeli Air Force has 150 F-16 fighter bombers of the earlier model. The latest modification will replace the Lavi plane which had been developed in Israel for several years but whose production Israel had to abandon due to serious economic difficulties.

The latest deal, REUTER reported, was proposed to the Israeli leadership by U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz during his trip to Jerusalem to encourage Israel to approve the new American plan for the Middle East settlement.

U.S. Senators Visit Kiev, Return to Moscow

Meet Ukrainian Officials

LD051750 Moscow TASS in English 1641 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Kiev April 5 TASS—Representatives of the public of the Soviet Ukraine view a visit to the Soviet Union by a delegation of the U.S. Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources as another step toward mutual understanding between the American and Soviet peoples. This was noted during a meeting of senators with Ukrainian scientists, specialists in nuclear energetics, medicine, workers in culture, religious leaders. Director of the Institute of Nuclear Research of the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences, Academician Ivan Vishnevskiy told the guests about the Ukraine's participation in the activity of the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), about the measures that have been taken to eliminate the consequences of the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Station. The scientist said that Soviet specialists now develop new generations of reactors whose operation will preclude any accidents.

Metropolitan Filaret of Kiev and Galich, exarch to the Ukraine, said that believers in the Ukraine enjoy the right to worship and do not meet with any obstacles by the authorities. This applies not only to Christians, but also to Catholics, Baptists, Protestants, believers of other denominations. The restructuring taking place in all areas of the life of Soviet society has a positive effect on the position of the church, Metropolitan Filaret said. The activity of the church in publishing widens, specifically, the New Testament is brought out in Ukrainian. This will be the first such publication, Metropolitan Filaret said. 100,000 Bibles, other publications will be brought out for the millennium of Christianity in Russia. Part of the world famous preserve Kiev-Pechora Lavra will be turned over to the church.

The senators were sightseeing in the Ukrainian capital, saw its new construction areas, museums, architectural and historic monuments. In the Park of Eternal Glory they placed flowers at the unknown soldier's tomb. With a minute's silence the guests paid tribute to the memory of Soviet soldiers who together with Americans and other peoples that participated in the anti-Hitler coalition saved the world from "brown plague" of Nazism.

Before leaving the Ukraine, head of the delegation, Senator Bennett Johnston was received by Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukraine Vitaliy Masol. It was emphasized by the Soviet side that mutually-advantageous cooperation should be established so that the climate of confidence should set in. This would be best promoted by the lifting of the restriction on trade with the USSR by the U.S. side.

Bennett Johnston agreed that all kinds of embargoes are a result of narrowmindedness in politics. He expressed the intention to persist with the efforts in matters of abrogating discriminatory measures in trade with the USSR. The guest said that of much interest to him are the processes of perestroyka and the development of glasnost in the USSR. This is a right road to the flourishing of people, wellbeing and peace. The spring of renewal in the Soviet Union is welcomed in the USA, he said.

Johnston Characterizes Relations

LD051755 Moscow TASS in English 1657 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Gennadiy Talalayev:

Senator Bennett Johnston has described relations between the United States and the Soviet Union as "very good and rapidly improving" in an interview to the TASS correspondent today.

The chairman of the Senate Committee on Energy and Natural Resources is heading a committee delegation on a visit to the Soviet Union at the invitation of the Commissions on Energy of the two chambers of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

The delegation arrived in Moscow today after trips to Leningrad and Kiev.

"The INF treaty," Sen Johnston Observed, "is a great first step, but it is only a first step. But there is a tremendous amount of hope on our side that we can make a brand new beginning, not look back to the mistakes of the past, but build a very solid relationship."

The senator expressed the hope that the INF treaty would be followed by other agreements, above all on strategic offensive weapons.

Members of his delegation, Johnston said, did not limit themselves to issues of energy and natural resources only. During the visit to Moscow, they intend to discuss a broad range of questions related to arms control, regional problems and human rights.

China

Cooperative Chief on Future Business Ties

LD051427 Moscow TASS in English 1150 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—The Soviet Union and the Chinese People's Republic have accumulated much experience in the field of science and technology, industry, agriculture, hence cooperation in those fields will be useful for both countries. This idea was expressed in a TASS interview by Yan Tie Liang, vice-president of the Chongqing International and Technical Cooperative Corporation, who arrived here to attend the month of Chinese cuisine in the USSR.

We consider the representation of the Chinese national dishes at Moscow's International Trade Centre to be only the first step in developing durable business ties with the Soviet partners, Yan Tie Liang said. As far as we know, a Japanese and a French restaurant already successfully function at Moscow's International Trade Centre. We also plan to open a permanent Chinese restaurant as a joint venture. It must be noted for that matter that the corporation has accumulated such experience in other countries. We hope that this will happen already in 1990 after the opening of the second stage of the International Trade Centre.

Our company, which was established by the Chongqing authorities, is engaged in intensive activities in various fields, therefore we have a stake in developing mutually beneficial partnership with Soviet organization also in such areas as housing and industrial construction, the manufacture of building materials and joint construction of projects in third countries, Yan Tie Liang said.

'Team Spirit' Exercise 'Obviously Provocation'

OW041431 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Mandarin to Asia-Pacific Region 1300 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] A mammoth military exercise codenamed "Team Spirit-88" is being held in the South of the Korean peninsula. It involves a total of 140,000 officers and men of the South Korean Army and 60,000 U.S. servicemen. A U.S. naval task force led by the aircraft carrier "Midway" is also taking part in the exercise. In addition, heavy military equipment has been transferred to the exercise area from the United States and from U.S. military bases on Guam, Japan, and the Philippines.

The "Team Spirit" military exercise is the 13th jointly held by the United States and South Korea. When the first exercise was held in 1976, the total number of participants from both countries was about 50,000 officers and men. Now, 200,000 U.S. and South Korean officers and men equipped with full combat gear are taking part in the exercise each year near the DPRK border.

The official excuse used by the United States and South Korea for the current exercise is that they have to train their men and ensure that the Olympic games will proceed safely. In fact, however, the exercise is not limited to training in defensive operations but also includes training in offensive operations, as the Americans themselves have admitted. The exercise plan calls for training in paratroop, river-crossing, and special forces operations, as well as in airlifts of troops and military equipment. In 1983, the U.S. Forces commander in South Korea Sennewald stated that, if necessary, he would go to the heartland of North Korea. One must not forget that his statement still stands.

The weapons used in the "Team Spirit" military exercise show that it is offensive in nature. They include B-52 strategic bombers, F-15 and F-16 fighter-bombers, guided missile units, and large numbers of tanks. According to Japan's KYODO news service, the "Midway" alone carries 80 fighters and helicopters, including supersonic interceptors capable of carrying nuclear weapons. This means that the purpose of the "Team Spirit" exercise is obviously provocation.

The DPRK Government has on many occasions declared that it has not the slightest intention to invade the South, that it has no intention whatsoever to seek a settlement of historical problems by using force, and that the alleged threat from the North is pure fabrication and contradicts logic. If Pyongyang really has the intention to invade the South, why then did it unilaterally act to reduce the Korean People's Army strength by 100,000 troops?

Not long ago, the DPRK Government put forward a new peace proposal. It called for eliminating the military confrontation between the South and the North, a declaration of mutual nonaggression, cancellation of the large military exercise codenamed "Team Spirit-88," disarmament talks, and a joint conference of personages from political and social circles in the South and the North. However, the United States and South Korea responded to this peace proposal by showing force in a big way by holding the "Team Spirit" exercise. To them, the vehement protests lodged by the DPRK and the appeals made by other countries in the Asia-Pacific region to stop the exercise do not mean anything. The PRC Foreign Ministry spokesman, for instance, said in a statement that the big "Team Spirit" military exercise held jointly by the United States and South Korea does not ease or stabilize the tense situation on the Korean peninsula. The reaction of the United States and South Korea was to turn a deaf ear to this statement.

The people of both the South and North of the Korean peninsula have long hoped for peace and stability and the reunification of their fatherland. But Seoul and Washington have persisted in confrontation. Before the current military exercise started, they already made plans for the next step to take. According to their announcement, in late September this year when the Olympic games are held in Seoul, the U.S. Navy will hold exercises along the South Korea coast. An AP dispatch said the United States will send from 1 to 2 aircraft carriers and from 6 to 10 other warships for the exercises slated for September. In addition, it possibly will also send several battalions of Marines. The purpose of such U.S. action needs no comment.

Southeast Asia & Pacific

CIA 'Implicated' in Coup Leader Honasan Flight

LD051355 Moscow TASS in English 1301 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Manila April 5 TASS—U.S. CIA agents are implicated in arranging for the flight from custody of former Colonel of the Philippine Army Gregoria Honasan, who led the military coup last August. A statement to this effect was made by Philippine Congress Deputy Venancio Garduse. Acting speaker of the House of Representatives of the Congress Antonio Cuenco said that the country's supreme legislative authority is starting an investigation into the incident with Honasan, who is an open enemy of the government of Corazon Aquino. He stressed that all the circumstances of the flight of the putschist leader, including the probability of involvement of the U.S. secret services in it, will be examined.

Philippine National Defense Minister Fidel Castro Ramos also said that foreign states could be involved in that incident. Meeting with newsmen he pointed out that the armed forces do not exclude "interference from outside" in the "Honasan affair".

In the opinion of a number of Philippine congressmen, Washington has a stake in a complication of the political situation in the Philippines which involved the flight of Honasan. According to Garduse, this may help the Americans to force on the Aquino government an advantageous to them settlement of the questions pertaining to the status of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines in the course of the Philippine-American talks, which opened in Manila today.

Japan, U.S. Discuss Aid for Philippines

LD052009 Moscow TASS in English 1752 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Tokyo April 5 TASS—Gaston Sigur, U.S. assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs, arrived in the Japanese capital today for a three-day visit. The official aim of the visit is to discuss with Japanese officials matters aimed at broadening economic aid to the Philippines. He said the emphasis at the talks would be made on the problem of separation of responsibility for aid to the Philippines.

Sigur specially emphasized in his recent speech in the Appropriations Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives that he would urge Tokyo to take upon itself a greater share of the financial burden of rendering support to Manila.

The KYODO news agency has reported that Washington also urges Japan to make a contribution to financing the maintenance of the Clark Field air base and the Subic Bay naval base in the Philippines, the two U.S. largest military bases abroad.

Talks began in the Philippine capital today on a revision of the 1947 Philippine-U.S. agreement on U.S. bases in the Philippines. According to Raul Manglapus, Philippine minister of foreign affairs, the talks will centre on the question of revising the terms of the agreement but the question of extending the agreement after its expiry in 1991 will not be raised, KYODO reported.

President Corazon Aquino had pointed out earlier that her administration would leave open the question of a future of the U.S. military bases in the Philippines after 1991.

Gaston Sigur's arrival indicates that the United States is increasing pressure on Japan to shift to it part of the burden to maintain the U.S. bases in the Philippines.

Envoy Kachin Notes Support for Spratly Talks

BK051409 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] On 5 April 1988, Comrade Dinh Nho Liem, member of the Communist Party of Vietnam Central Committee and first vice foreign minister, gave a cordial reception to Comrade Kachin, member of the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet ambassador to our country. At the reception, Comrade Dinh Nho Liem recalled Vietnam's recent proposals to the Chinese for solving differences between the two countries over the Truong Sa [Spratly] Archipelago through peaceful negotiations. It was also proposed that while waiting for China to sit down for negotiations, the two sides agree not to use force and avoid all conflicts in order to prevent the situation from being further aggravated. On this occasion, Comrade Dinh Nho Liem expressed the gratitude of our party, government, and people to the party, government, and people of the Soviet Union for having supported Vietnam's stance over this issue.

Ambassador Kachin expressed the Soviet Union's high appraisal and support for the just stand of Vietnam and its attitude of goodwill in settling all territorial disputes with China through negotiations in conformity with the current trend of solving all problems in international relations through dialogue. Ambassador Kachin also affirmed the consistent support of the party, government, and people of the Soviet Union for the cause of socialist construction and for the Vietnamese people's struggle for the defense of their national independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

Comrade Dinh Nho Liem and Comrade Kachin exchanged views on the continued implementation of measures to strengthen diplomatic cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union aimed at consolidating peace, stability, and cooperation in Southeast Asia, Asia and the Pacific.

Demichev Talks With Vietnam's Tran Quyet

PM060935 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 5 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Friendly Conversation"]

[Text] On 4 April P.N. Demichev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, received in the Kremlin a delegation of the SRV Prosecutor's Office headed by Tran Quyet, secretary of the Communist Party of Vietnam [CPV] Central Committee and prosecutor general of the SRV. It is visiting our country at the invitation of the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

During the ensuing friendly conversation the guests were briefed on the USSR Supreme Court's activity in carrying out the socioeconomic transformations determined by the party, improving Soviet legislation, asserting Leninist principles of socialist legality and law and order, and ensuring collaboration between soviets and organs of the Prosecutor's Office in the practical implementation of the plans laid down. It was stressed that during the restructuring of all spheres of state and social life, and under the conditions of increasing democracy and glasnost, soviet organs are seeking to make fuller use of their powers to see that phenomena alien to socialism are overcome as quickly as possible, to strengthen the protection of Soviet citizens' rights, and to ensure strict observance of legal norms in the activity of the law-enforcement agencies themselves.

Tran Quyet shared his experience of socialist building in Vietnam and described measures to enhance the role of the organs of the Prosecutor's Office in strengthening legality and law and order in his country. He noted the great importance of Soviet experience of restructuring for the building of socialism in the SRV.

Nguyen Manh Cam, SRV ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation.

Justice Minister Kravtsov on Thai Relations

BK050127 Bangkok THE NATION in English 5 Apr 88 p 3

[By Sinfa Tansarawut]

[Excerpts] Soviet Justice Minister Boris V. Kravtsov said more contact between Soviet and Thai people would require bilateral treaties to facilitate their cooperation.

He said the Soviet Union and Thailand can learn from each other's justice systems despite different political ideologies.

However, there is no need at the moment for a bilateral treaty on legal affairs, Kravtsov said Sunday in an interview with THE NATION.

Kravtsov is the first Soviet justice minister to visit Thailand since the Russian Revolution in 1917. During his visit, which began March 28, he has held talks with Justice Minister Sa-at Piyawan and senior Supreme and Appeals Courts judges.

The Soviet minister said Sa-at has accepted an invitation to visit the Soviet Union at a later date.

Kravtsov noted that legal officials of the two countries have been exchanging visits. [passage omitted]

The Soviet minister said some Thai justice officials noticed that the Soviet system of placing courts for prosecuting military officers under the Justice Minister is better than the Thai system, in which such courts are part of the Defence Ministry.

He said he's learned from Thai officials the way to deal with drug addicts and how Thailand cooperates with foreign countries to cut narcotics production and trafficking.

The major drug problem among Soviets is marijuana, and Soviet authorities are increasingly concerned about drug abuse among the youth, Kravtsov said.

Kaysone Phomvihan Addresses Soviet Film Crew

BK060946 Moscow in Lao to Laos 1030 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Dear listeners, the filming of a documentary on the development of the Lao People's Democratic Republic [LPDR] in the new period has now been completed. The Soviet Central Television Station film crew visited many provinces to meet with the multiethnic people in various circles of Lao society. Before returning to Moscow, the Soviet film crew had the honor of paying a courtesy call on His Excellency Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party [LPRP] Central Committee and chairman of the LPDR Council of Ministers. During his conversation with the Soviet visitors, Kaysone Phomvihan said:

[Begin recording] In the past 1 or 2 years, the situation in our country has gradually been returning to normal. It has developed in almost every aspect. For example, the social situation is better than before and new mechanisms have been applied in the economic field. Thanks to the application of these new mechanisms, work productivity has increased, the living conditions of workers and employees have improved, and production has developed. This is a good thing. In the cultural field, development has also been achieved, especially after our party Central Committee adopted a resolution on educational reform and rigorous movements in this direction emerged.

At the same time, it can be clearly seen that in parallel with the movements to switch to new business accounting, build new culture and education, and create a new society, a new national defense and public security movement has also emerged. This is explicitly displayed in our efforts to turn to as many grass-roots localities as possible. Many regions and provinces have executed this work excellently. In turning to grass-roots localities, we have implemented the party Central Committee's resolution in four major directions with a view to building each village and locality into a socialist fortress. This goal has been realized in many areas—for example, in Luang Prabang and other regions. This is very clear.

However, we are now paying special attention to our great victory recently scored in Na Bonoi Canton in Boten District, where we resisted the big-nation and Pan-Thaist expansionist policy of the Thai ultra-rightist reactionaries, who were dealt painful defeats. This is one of the achievements reflecting the new progress and development scored by the LPDR under the leadership of our party.

In recent years, we have drawn lessons from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. To do what? Just to effect a perestroyka restructuring program in Laos. We are of the view that the perestroyka restructuring in Laos has been carried out very effectively. Of course, we have also experienced certain difficulties. But progress has been made. This is very clear. Our people of all strata have supported this endeavor.

My report presented after the fifth plenary session of the party Central Committee clearly reflected a new spirit and new development. It involves what we call the spirit of translating into details the spirit of the fourth party congress. This detailed spirit has been presented to the Supreme People's Council. Our people throughout the country heard this report both on the radio and television. We understand that the people have given clear-cut support to our party's line and policies. This is clear evidence that the overall situation in the LPDR is gradually returning to normal and development is occurring.

In the economic sphere alone, even though severe droughts and calamities have plagued our country, we have been able to resolve these difficulties. On the one hand, we have relied on ourselves for self-sufficiency by further enhancing the strength of each village and locality for self-sufficiency. At the same time, we have also tried to acquire assistance from fraternal (?socialist) countries and international organizations. Thus, generally speaking, our economy is good—not too good, but good. Prices are stable. It can be said that in the past 1 or 2 years, prices have not changed that much. They have only changed to a certain extent. As result, the living conditions of cadres, workers, employees, and farmers appear to be better now than before.

Let us look at Vientiane; many new achievements have been scored in the economic field. You, comrades, must have clearly witnessed this phenomenon. Foreign visitors—for example, the Thai delegations—are puzzled when they visit Vientiane. They are puzzled because they never thought that Laos would achieve such impressive development. What has impressed them most? They can see that social order has clearly been maintained in Laos, or in Vientiane. They find that our people are polite. Moreover, they find that goods are very abundant and our markets are full of consumer goods. We are not short of anything. The Thai visitors noted that there are no beggars here—which is different from Thailand—and that no one was seen in ragged clothes. This phenomenon clearly reflects that the socioeconomic situation in Laos has clearly improved.

We have been talking about the economic situation in Vientiane alone, not in the countryside. Our countryside is also peaceful and normal. The farmers' lives are much better than before. They can do cooperative work better than before. There are also many forms of cooperatives presently in existence. They have scored new economic development.

Education, culture, and public health have been excellently developed, not only in urban areas but in the countryside as well. Artistic and literary movements, sports and acrobatic movements, and study movements have been active in many villages and cantons. Supplementary education has also been promoted. In certain districts this work has been promoted among almost all residents. Many districts are vigorously promoting this work. Public health work has also been promoted. Many hospitals have been improved and expanded. The three-cleanliness campaign has also been more effectively implemented.

In brief, in the past few years under the leadership of our party and government, you can see that new steps of development have been made by the LPDR. At the same time, our revolutionary forces and national defense and public security forces are better than before. This is definitely obvious. Almost all of the counterrevolutionary elements have been suppressed. A case in point occurred recently when the aggressors were defeated at

Na Bonoi Canton. This clearly reflects the strength of the military and police forces and the Lao People's Public Security Forces. The most important thing is that our people are now more alert. For example, our people's movements were extremely strong in the wake of the Thai aggression. You, comrades, must have witnessed this in Vientiane itself—seeing that throughout the day our youths volunteered to go to the frontline and so did the women's and workers' movements. All this clearly reflects the Lao people's overall strength, patriotism, and love of socialism. This is very clear. [end recording]

Near East & South Asia

Afghan-Pakistani Geneva Talks Resume 5 Apr

Cordovez Resumes Meetings

LD051605 Moscow TASS in English 1505 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Geneva April 5 TASS—The indirect Afghan-Pakistani talks resumed here today through the mediation of the personal envoy of the United Nations secretary general Diego Cordovez who first had a meeting with the head of Pakistan delegation Zain Noorani and then with the head of the Afghan delegation 'Abdul Wakil.

Prior to this Diego Cordovez had meetings with representatives of the USSR and the United States.

Commentary on Delays

LD051242 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0335 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Vladimir Fadeyev commentary entitled: "Afghanistan: Who Is Holding Up a Settlement?" presented on the "Topic of the Day" program]

[Text] The eyes of millions of people are today on Geneva. What will be its response to this increased attention? Let us just look at the headlines on reports emerging from there: Pakistani side puts a new and unexpected proposal on the agenda; Pakistani delegates delay the talks; Washington demands that the Soviet Union stop its aid to Afghanistan; talks on a peaceful settlement in Afghanistan remain deadlocked. That is far from a full list of reports from Geneva coming to readers and listeners who are observing the development of one of the most painful regional conflicts in the world. The word painful does not quite give a full definition of the situation. It is most grave because Afghanistan has been suffering war for 9 years now. The people have been suffering and children have been dying. Material culture is being destroyed, as are historical valuables. For exactly the same number of years our homes have been invaded by cruel and sorrowful news of husbands, sons, and brothers who have been wounded or who have died in fighting during this undeclared and long drawn-out war. Then came Geneva, or rather, what there was before it and the statement by Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev on Afghanistan. How many people in the world immediately saw in this document a near end to the war? How many passions were stirred? How many arguments and opinions were engendered? Over all this, the hope of peace in Afghanistan glittered and shone.

Now, however, there are the reports from Geneva with which I started my talk. Indeed, they cannot be brushed aside. They, too, are a reality. They are the barometer of the talks. If the position of the hands on this barometer depended only on the Afghan side or on our side, then Moscow and Kabul would have done everything to ensure that the talks ended with the signing of a peace agreement in March. We named a date for the start of a troop withdrawal and defined its duration and stages. While the Geneva talks were in progress we brought this date forward by another month. Now it looks as if our peace initiative caught both the Pakistani leadership and the administration of the U.S. President unprepared. One stipulation after another began to come up in Geneva. New conditions appeared that had not been expressed before the start of this round of talks and that immediately turned into obstacles and, in the final analysis, were expressed in the unconstructive position of Pakistan and the United States.

First, there was the issue of setting up without fail the so-called transitional government with which Islamabad would be able, according to it, to sign a peace document. Then the border question cropped up and finally the issue, hatched in the offices of the White House and eagerly taken up in Islamabad, of symmetry in stopping aid to both sides involved in the conflict.

Let us look briefly at the essence of these stipulations, of which there are three so far. I say so far because where is the guarantee that the Pakistani side will not come up with more of them, if only to drag the talks out and thus keep the hotbed of tension on the very border of the USSR from being resolved, push us into new material expenditure and—the main thing—cause more human casualties and, of course, to present us before a certain section of the world community in a distorted light and say: Look how long the Soviets have been in Afghanistan.

Now we come to the question of a transitional government. It is, to put it mildly, a strange one in itself. For 10 years there has been a government in Kabul recognized as legitimate by 82 countries of the world. It is with that government that the Government of Pakistan has also maintained relations and continues to do so. It was this very government that at one time came to understand that peace on Afghan soil can and must come with the definite participation in running the state even by those who are currently waging military operations against it. It was for this reason that the idea came into being of creating a coalition government which would include representatives of various parties and opposition forces.

Coalition councils set up according to this principle already exist in many parts of the country and operate successfully. I would like to emphasize particularly the important point of the spirit of democratism within the soviets and executive committees formed on the basis of this coalition. Seventy-six percent of the people who make them up are nonparty members. In other words, resorting to the lexicon of Western propaganda, it is not difficult, using its very words, to refute assertions that the Kabul government is made up solely of communists with whom Islamabad and the ruling clique of the Afghan opposition in Peshawar, the so-called Alliance of Seven which it has taken under its wing, suddenly do not wish to do business.

I do not have enough time here to talk in detail about the political platform of each of the members of this alliance. I want only to recall that all of them could only find a common language for a certain time by rallying around the far-fetched slogan of the need to defend Islam in Afghanistan, and as soon as it had exhausted itself, it became clear that there were very serious differences among the fighters for Islam as regards religion, the model for creating a social order in Afghanistan, etc.

It has to be said that ideology is not the only thing dividing the groups making up the seven parties. There is also long-standing intertribal enmity. That is the sort of government, if one can call it that, that the leaders of the mujahidin themselves and their Pakistani protectors are offering the Afghan people. Nonetheless, Najibullah, the president of Afghanistan, has agreed to hold talks even with these people on forming a coalition government. He has agreed in the name of peace, and not some monopoly right to power to which, incidentally, Peshawar lays claim. However, to judge by all accounts, the Peshawar Seven are nurturing their own sinister plans with regard to their own homeland. Even now its leader Gulbuddin Hikmatyar is trying to dictate to Kabul and indeed to our country how to behave, what to do, and when to do it.

For the first time ever there will be elections to the National Council, the supreme organ of state authority, from 5 to 14 April in Afghanistan. In an address to mark the elections, President Najibullah proposed to the leaders of the opposition not to miss this historic chance. Well, let us see how they will use it.

Now let us talk about Islamabad's claims on the border question or the so-called Durand Line, which Britain artificially imposed on Afghanistan back in the 19th century and which split the once-united Pushtun and Baluchi tribes. Even now they live on either side of the Afghan-Pakistani frontier. The division of these tribes has been used from time to time by Pakistan for the past 40 years in its own interests. The territory of some tribes is used for training rebels and the territory of others is used for crossing under cover onto Afghan territory. It is clear to anyone observing events in this area why Islamabad is trying in Geneva to drag the border question into the discussion. For it is nothing other than a dishonest attempt to use the situation to resolve a problem that has been a source of dispute for many decades.

Finally, there is another obstacle at the talks, put forward unexpectedly by the Reagan administration. I have already said that Washington and Pakistan are for some reason trying to tie together two completely different issues with the departure of our troops: stopping military aid to the Afghan rebels and the aid we have given to Afghanistan on the basis of our bilateral agreements virtually since 1921. This proposal, if one can call it a proposal, which is unacceptable to us, is called the principle of symmetry, or a moratorium on arms supplies. In putting it forward, of course, Washington knows in advance that we will take these steps since we have always been true to our word and obligations. Therefore, it is clear that in dragging out the Geneva talks with these new stipulations and calling them allegedly vital to a peace agreement, Islamabad and Washington are obviously expecting that the opposing side will suddenly loose its nerve and will make concessions on something in its peace initiative.

This cannot be. Let me repeat, that is not our style, and our country, having stated its intention to put an end to the Afghan conflict, will cover its part of the road in the settlement process courageously and to the end. However, this will not be done at the price of continuing the unhappiness and suffering of the Afghan people. Now as never before, Pakistan ought to take that circumstance into consideration. For today in Geneva the basis is being created for future relations between the two neighboring states. Afghanistan is showing an interest in ensuring that a peace agreement should be signed as quickly as possible, and naturally Kabul does not consider and does not even tolerate the notion that a peace agreement may at the same time allow its neighbor to provide the rebels with military aid.

The opposing side and the United States are seeking—devising—ways around this. As you can see, comrades, the situation is not a simple one. It is for precisely that reason that Comrade Shevardnadze is now in Kabul discussing and agreeing with the Afghan leadership on various options for action in the event of the Geneva talks failing nonetheless to bring the desired results.

U.S. Sends More Arms to Afghan Rebels, Pakistan

11 F-16's to Pakistan

LD052036 Moscow TASS in English 1812 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] New Delhi April 5 TASS—The Pentagon has notified U.S. Congress that it is selling Pakistan an extra batch of 11 F-16 fighter bombers worth 256 million dollars, 200 Sparrow and 360 sidewinder missiles for a total of 87 million dollars.

The newspaper PATRIOT reported that the United States recently sent to Afghan armed groups based on Pakistani territory advanced anti-tank weapons, including guided TOW projectiles, ground-to-ground rockets and anti-tank guns worth 300 million dollars.

The newspaper drew attention to the fact that this demonstrative action had been undertaken at a time when the process of political settlement of the situation relating to Afghanistan was entering a decisive stage.

'Newest' Missiles to Rebels

LD060610 Moscow TASS in English 0507 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] New Delhi April 6 TASS—The United States has used giant transport planes to airlift newest anti-tank weapons, including TOW guided missiles, surface-to-surface rockets and anti-tank guns worth 300 million dollars, to Afghan counter-revolutionaries based in Pakistan territory.

The newspaper PATRIOT noted that the demonstrative operation had been carried out just as the process of a political settlement of the situation regarding Afghanistan had entered the decisive phase.

Murakhovskiy Economic Delegation Visits Kabul

Meets With Prime Minister

LD051406 Moscow TASS in English 1355 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Kabul April 5 TASS—The Prime Minister of the Republic of Afghanistan Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand today received Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, chairman of the State Agro-Industrial Committee of the USSR, who is heading the Soviet delegation at the regular meeting here of the Standing Inter-Governmental Soviet-Afghan Commission on Economic Cooperation.

Vsevolod Murakhovskiy informed the prime minister of Afghanistan of the course of perestroyka, the economic reform, the transfer of enterprises to cost-accounting and self-financing, the democratisation of all aspects of society's life in the Soviet Union. He devoted special attention to the development of cooperatives.

Sultan 'Ali Keshtmand in his turn spoke about the course of the policy of national reconciliation, the results of the national economy's development in 1987.

A number of current and long-term questions of Soviet-Afghan economic cooperation were also discussed.

Received by Najibullah

LD061035 Moscow TASS in English 1013 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Kabul April 6 TASS—President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan has received Vsevolod Murakhovskiy, first vice-chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, chairman of the USSR State Agro-Industrial Committee, who heads the Soviet delegation at the scheduled session of the permanent inter-governmental Soviet-Afghan Commission for Economic Cooperation.

In the course of the meeting they discussed questions pertaining to multilateral Soviet-Afghan cooperation. It was stressed that the development of the economy of the Republic of Afghanistan depends on the resolution of many socio-political tasks, a further strengthening of the country's economic independence, ensuring a rise in the living standards of the population. All this is reflected in the long-term program being prepared now for Afghan-Soviet cooperation designed up to the year 2000.

The sides pointed out that the development of direct ties between the Soviet republics and the provinces of Afghanistan is an important trend in the deepening of bilateral ties and an outstanding phenomenon in the world practices of inter-state relations. The aim of Soviet-Afghan cooperation is a broadening of the production potential of the Republic of Afghanistan and ensuring that country's dynamic socio-economic development, which is particularly important in the context of national reconciliation whose humanitarian ideas are meeting with growing approval among the Afghans.

President Najibullah noted that the Afghan people link all of their hopes with the advent of the days when they will be able to work on their land, at factories in an atmosphere of peace and tranquility. The national reconciliation policy enjoys the support of all sections of the population including those who are so far staying outside the country and even those who are yet fighting against their brothers. The implementation of that policy has manifested itself in the ultimate consolidation of the principles of the multi-party and coalition system in political life, in the approval of the country's new constitution, according to which elections have started for the National Council of the Republic.

In his turn Vsevolod Murakhovskiy briefed Najibullah on the course of restructuring in the Soviet Union.

Najibullah Sends Message to UN Refugee Group

LD051226 Moscow TASS in English 1034 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Kabul April 5 TASS—Najibullah, president of the Republic of Afghanistan, has sent a message to the Office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees.

Many important measures aimed at forging the unity of the Afghan people and solving peacefully the involved Afghan problem were taken over the year when the national reconciliation policy was launched, the document says. The authoritative representatives of the office of the U.N. High Commissioner, who visited Afghanistan, saw to themselves that there existed conditions for the return of refugees whose equal involvement in the management of the state is guaranteed by the Republic's Constitution.

Elections to the Republic's National Council begin in the country. They will be conducted in line with the U.N. Charter, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and international law standards. The principal task of the elections is to ensure the national unity of the Afghan people and solve intricate issues in the atmosphere of mutual understanding. This is why all Afghans, all political forces both in the country and beyond it have the right to take part in the elections.

In view of this, the president expressed the hope that the office of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees would give assistance in informing Afghan citizens abroad about the elections and in clearing the impediments to their return to the homeland. The Afghan Government is ready to receive fellow citizens and create conditions for their participation in the elections, and in the event of a delay with the return of some groups of refugees it will retain the necessary number of seats in both chambers of parliament, the document points out.

Najibullah Discusses Afghan Elections, Economy

PM051501 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 6 Apr 88 First Edition p 5

[Interview with President Najibullah of the Republic of Afghanistan by special correspondent S. Volovets: "Most Humane Aims"; date and place not given]

[Text] [Volovets] Comrade President, you have agreed to meet me for a conversation at a portentous time for the Republic. Elections to the National Council—the country's parliament—have begun, and then the Afghan people will celebrate the 10th anniversary of the April revolution. What does this stage mean for Afghanistan, what, in your view, are the main achievements of this period, and what are the chief problems facing the country today?

[Najibullah] I think that the most substantial results in the political sphere are connected with the implementation of the policy of national reconciliation which we proclaimed more than a year ago. This policy is, at the same time, both a manifestation of the new thinking as applied to today's complex conditions in our country and a kind of experiment which has definite universal significance for resolving international regional conflicts in various parts of the world. I will use the word "restructuring," which is well known everywhere, to define the process now taking place in the country. It is linked, above all, with the change in the system which has taken shape in our country since the revolution toward democratization and a multiparty, coalition system. Various new, registered political parties are operating in the country at election time, and they are able to put forward their candidates for parliament. Representation of tribes, which today remain an extremely important element of our social structure, is also ensured. I hope that representatives of all trends who sincerely desire the restoration of peace in our long-suffering country will be able to work together fruitfully.

We are also open to cooperation with the opposition abroad. We have made more than a dozen proposals, each of which provided an opportunity to commence a dialogue. And if the leaders of the opposition abroad have so far rejected them, I do not think that this attests to their strength, to firmness of character, or to breadth of political vision. Now that the question of the Soviet troop withdrawal from Afghanistan has been resolved, no one can justify the actions of the "Alliance of Seven" in Pakistan, which rejects a national dialogue. In just the same way there is no justification for the international forces which are holding up the reaching of agreement at the Afghan-Pakistani talks in Geneva.

[Volovets] What, in your view, should be singled out when evaluating the successes of national reconciliation?

[Najibullah] Clearly, in order to hold national elections it was necessary, first, to secure a certain level of popular support for the new policy. I have already spoken of the creation of new political parties, and that is an undoubted sign of the changes. But perhaps the creation of local coalition organs with the participation of opposition forces must be considered a clearer indicator of the support for national reconciliation. Here are a few figures. Representatives of various parties, organizations, and associations now make up more than three-fourths of the composition of local organs of power and administration locally—and only approximately one-fourth belong to the PDPA. Over the year, approximately 3,200 settlements have peacefully recognized the central government's authority. Some 120,000 refugees have returned home from abroad. On no account do I wish to say that we are over the hump, but these facts indicate the direction of the political process.

[Volovets] Our newspaper's readers often ask whether there is any chance of cooperation between the Republic's government and the commanders of the armed opposition detachments who were previously involved in combat operations. Can you tell us what progress has been made in this area?

[Najibullah] Over the last year some 40,000 people from armed formations have come over to the side of state authority. This process continues. We have already mentioned representatives of the opposition in county and province administration—they include commanders of detachments who once fought against the government. Moreover, the doors of our central institutions and departments are open to people who are prepared to work honestly to restore the country; these people may—and some already do—hold command posts in the armed forces.

[Volovets] In the social and economic sphere the people's power has long proclaimed the following slogan: Everyone should have the housing, clothing, and food he deserves. What is the current situation with regard to implementing social programs and how is the Republic's economy developing?

[Najibullah] Naturally, economic life has been seriously affected by the many years of armed struggle, migration of the population, and the collapse of the production infrastructure. This has particularly affected agrarian production; after all, Afghanistan today is still basically a peasant country. The cotton, grain, and grape harvests have all suffered. We have been unable to carry out—at any rate in full—our extensive plans to provide peasants with land and water and improve life for working people.

National reconciliation opens up possibilities for creating a strong, independent economy. It will be combined with a strong state sector and with favorable conditions for national entrepreneurs and private foreign capital.

We have no intention of imposing on the people decisions and reforms for which they are still not ready in terms of the level of their awareness and their real living conditions. We have made this mistake more than once before.

If we are successful, we will soon be able to stop inflation, then reduce prices and increase the population's real income. This is the main source of finance for programs concerning housing and municipal construction, education, public health care, and other social needs. There is an enormous amount of work to do.

[Volovets] In conclusion, Comrade President, allow me to ask you a personal question. You are one of the youngest heads of state at one of the most difficult periods in your country's history. What helps you in your difficult, responsible work?

[Najibullah] Allow me to say a few words about this. I am a physician by education and believe that this is the most humane of professions. And finding the right political decisions under the conditions of our long-suffering country is now a task no less humane. I and other leaders draw our strength from this, and the measure of our responsibility is also determined by this.

Chervov Denies Chemical Weapons Given to Iraq

LD051951 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] A senior official of the Soviet Defense Ministry has described as an ill-intentioned provocation a report by the French radio station Europe 1 about Iraq using allegedly Soviet-supplied war chemicals against Iran. The station claimed that the information had arrived from Iran and had been corroborated by independent international specialists. The Soviet Colonel General Nikolay Chervov in his interview for Radio Moscow dismissed the allegation by Europe 1. He said the Soviet Union strictly abided by its international commitments. True to the Geneva protocol of 1925, the USSR, he said, had never resorted to the use of chemical weapons and had never supplied them to other countries.

Shultz Trying To Gain Support for Mideast Plan

'Pro-Israeli' Proposals

LD051341 Moscow TASS in English 1204 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—By a TASS diplomatic correspondent:

During his current visit to the Middle East U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz is making another attempt to win the consent of the sides directly involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict to new American proposals for a Middle East settlement.

On Monday he held talks with Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhaq Shamir, Foreign Minister Shim'on Peres and Defense Minister Yitzhaq Rabin. Shultz expressed his satisfaction with that round of the negotiations, although it is known that Shamir is strongly against the U.S. plan.

Shultz today goes to Jordan and then on to Syria for talks with the leaders of those countries.

The American proposals have in general been met with significant reservations and criticisms in the region and the world.

The new U.S. plan does not ensure the interests of all the sides concerned and is essentially a pro-Israeli one. The Palestine Liberation Organization is left outside a settlement and much unclear remains as regards the international conference on the Middle East itself and as regards its tasks and functions.

As a result of the Washington plan being realized, the conference can be just a symbolical action, without helping to resolve the problems of the region.

In Moscow's diplomatic circles it is believed that the international conference on the Middle East should be an organ presupposing various flexible forms of interaction between its participants. And nobody, the United States included, has the right to turn the international forum into a tool for implementing one's own plans.

This view is shared by most countries.

Under any circumstances, the Palestinian factor is the key element of a Middle East settlement. Just as the other sides involved in the conflict, the PLO should have the right both to prepare the conference and to take part in its work.

Israel's position is a serious stumbling block to the convocation of the conference. It is appropriate to recall that the State of Israel has been formed under a decision of the U.N. General Assembly.

Along with it a Palestinian state should be formed in Palestine as well. The Palestinian people's right to self-determination should be finally implemented in the same measure in which it has been implemented for the people of Israel itself.

'Anti-Arab Strategic Alliance'

LD051600 Moscow TASS in English 1452 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—TASS commentator Grigoriy Vasilyev writes:

U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz makes a tour of Middle Eastern countries for the third time this year. There is no doubt that the main reason for Washington's increased attention to the area is a sharp aggravation of the situation in Israeli-occupied Arab territories where the flames of the Palestinian people's uprising are raging for nearly four months. Israeli punitive forces resorted to brutal reprisals, but they have been unable to dampen mass protests of the unarmed population against the abominable occupation regime.

The "new Middle East initiative" of the U.S. secretary of state is clearly aimed at rendering support for the United States' ally in the anti-Arab strategic alliance that landed in a difficult situation. The same purposes are served by another memorandum on mutual understanding in the economic, political and strategic areas, which, as is reported, is to be signed simultaneously in Jerusalem and Washington on April 21, and the decision of the U.S. Administration to supply Tel Aviv with 75 F-16 fighter bombers of the latest modification.

The two previous trips to the Middle East have not achieved the results the head of the U.S. foreign policy department wanted. Going by Shultz's pronouncements he does not expect much from his current tour. It is characteristic that during the talks with the Israeli prime minister, the U.S. secretary of state virtually has not touched upon the question of convening an international conference on the Middle East, the only mechanism capable of producing a comprehensive and mutually-acceptable solution to the long-drawn-out Middle East conflict.

No matter what the details of the new U.S. initiative, one thing is clear: It does not envisage unconditional withdrawal of Israeli troops from the Arab territories seized as a result of the aggression, just as it does not envisage the satisfaction of the lawful right of the Arab people of Palestine to national self determination and creation of its own independent state. And the developments showed that without fulfilling these two conditions it is impossible to establish a truly durable and just peace in the Middle East that would take into account vital interests and security of all the sides involved in the Arab-Israeli conflict.

Syria, Lebanese Party Respond

LD061104 Moscow TASS in English 1017 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Damascus April 6 TASS—Syrian President Hafiz al-Asad has told visiting U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz that a fair and enduring peace in the Middle East can only be achieved through an authoritative international conference, SANA news agency reported.

During his meeting with Shultz, who was on a brief visit here in the course of his tour of the Middle East, Al-Asad stressed that peace in the region could only be based on the withdrawal of Israeli troops from all occupied Arab territories and the granting of their legitimate rights to the Arab people of Palestine, including their right to exercise self-determination and create an independent state of their own.

Beirut April 6 TASS—The Political Bureau of the Progressive Socialist Party of Lebanon has dismissed the latest U.S. Middle East initiative as aiming to protect Israeli interests.

In a statement issued here it said it was nothing other than an attempt to split the Arabs' ranks and foil efforts to secure pan-Arab backing for the Palestinian uprising in occupied lands.

The statement called for uniting all patriotic forces in the campaign for making sure that at the projected international peace conference the Palestinian people be represented by an independent delegation with the participation of the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Further on Kamentsev Meeting With Egyptians

PM051603 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] V.M. Kamentsev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received on 1 April H.M. al-Kafrawi, minister of housing, utilities, and urban complexes of the Arab Republic of Egypt, who is in the USSR in connection with an exhibition of Egyptian goods in Moscow.

Questions of the present state and development prospects of Soviet-Egyptian trade and economic cooperation were discussed during the conversation, which proceeded in a friendly atmosphere.

Egyptian Ambassador to the USSR S.H. Basyuni took part in the conversation.

Supreme Soviet Delegation Arrives in Oman

Tarazevich Statement on Talks

LD051352 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet on a special mission is making a trip around the countries of the Persian Gulf. Our correspondent, Aleksandr Murashin, reports from the capital of the United Arab Emirates:

[Murashin] This is the first visit of a Soviet delegation at such a high level to the Gulf states and so it is not surprising that the mass media of the United Arab Emirates are giving it considerable attention. During the trip, the USSR Supreme Soviet delegation will also visit Oman and Kuwait. After meetings with various state figures of the United Arab Emirates, Georgiy Stanislavovich Tarazevich, a deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Belorussian SSR Presidium, in an interview for All-Union Radio, said among other things:

[Begin Tarazevich recording] We are currently in the United Arab Emirates. Then we are to visit Oman and Kuwait. I would like to stress that the relations between our country and the said countries are good overall. Cooperation is developing. It is based on trust and mutual understanding. Those meetings we have had in the United Arab Emirates with state and political figures of the country confirm this. There has been a very detailed exchange of views with the president of the country on those problems that exist in this region. That exchange of views showed that the positions of our countries on the problems under discussion either coincide or are close. [end recording]

Meets UAE, Omani Leaders

LD051741 Moscow TASS in English 1715 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Muscat April 5 TASS—The special mission of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, now on a tour of Persian Gulf countries, arrived today in the Sultanate of Oman. At Muscat airport the special mission headed by Vice President of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR Georgiy Tarazevich was welcomed by Deputy Chairman of the Consultative Council Ibrahim ibn Muhammad al-Hina'i and other officials.

Later in the day the members of the mission were received by the Deputy Prime Minister of Oman Fahd ibn Mahmud al Bu Sa'id. He stated that the development of relations between the Soviet Union and Oman will facilitate stability in that area of the world. Oman, he said further, is satisfied with the establishment of diplomatic ties with the USSR and is happy that the previous obstacles in this field have been overcome, and hopes that these relations will get a new impulse in the nearest future.

Fahd ibn Mahmud al Bu Sa'id stressed the coincidence of the views of the two countries on many international problems and characterised the Soviet stand on the Iran-Iraq conflict as reasonable and noble. On its part, he said, Oman is working to ease tension in the Persian Gulf and considers it necessary to consult and to coordinate its actions with the USSR in the interests of restoring peace in the region. The Omani representative voiced support for the Soviet proposal to create a United Nations naval force in the Gulf area adding, however, that the fulfillment of this task would not be easy.

The Soviet members of parliament had a conversation with the leadership of Oman's Consultative Assembly headed by its President Shaykh 'Abdallah ibn 'Ali al-Khatabi. Information was exchanged on the structure of the bodies of state power of the two countries, their activity and powers.

Prior to the visit to Oman the special mission visited the United Arab Emirates. It was received by the President of the UAE Shaykh Zayid ibn Sultan al Nuhayyan and the crown prince of Abu Dhabi, deputy commander-in-chief of the UAE Armed Forces Khalifah ibn Zayid al Nuhayyan, conducted a meeting with deputies of the country's Federal National Council.

The members of the special mission of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, first secretary of the board of the Union of Writers of Tajikistan Muminsho Kanoatov and the director general of TASS Sergey Losev had meetings with the Minister of Information and Culture of the UAE Ahmad ibn Hamid.

The Soviet members of parliament visited the Emirates of Dubayy and Sharjah that are members of the United Arab Emirates.

Before leaving the country the delegation conducted a press conference for representatives of the local and regional press.

Envoy Relays Gorbachev Reply to Indian Women
LD051400 Moscow TASS in English 1240 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] New Delhi April 5 TASS—On the instruction of Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, Vasiliy Rykov, ambassador of the USSR to India, has thanked leaders and activists of Indian women's organizations who sent a letter to Mikhail Gorbachev. Indian women activists came today to the Soviet Embassy to express their gratitude for the attention devoted by the general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee to their appeal for an early ratification of the INF treaty.

Vasiliy Rykov told them that the Soviet leadership shared their striving for a world without nuclear weapons, for a world in which human life would be the most precious of things. The USSR will continue to do its utmost for attaining this goal.

The Soviet leadership met with understanding the appeal of Indian women for the ratification of the INF treaty. It was brought to the notice of the USSR Supreme Soviet which is now examining this question. Mikhail Gorbachev conveyed cordial greetings and best regards to leaders and to all the representatives of women's organizations of India who are working tirelessly for attaining a noble goal—universal peace.

Leaders of the Indian Democratic Association of Women, the National Federation of Indian Women, the Indian Women's Conference and other organizations emphasized at today's meeting that the Soviet people and the Soviet leadership were making a tremendous contribution to the struggle for durable peace throughout the world, for the survival of humanity.

India's Natwar Singh Holds Talks With Vorontsov
LD052037 Moscow TASS in English 1734 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister Yuliy Vorontsov and Minister of State of the Indian Ministry of External affairs K. Natwar Singh held Soviet-Indian political consultations at the USSR Foreign Ministry on April 4-5. Taking part in the consultations from the Soviet side were USSR Deputy Foreign Ministers Aleksander Bessmertnykh, Vladimir Petrovskiy and Igor Rogachev. Taking part from the Indian side were India's Ambassador to the USSR Tikoli Nath Kaul and chief of the East European Department of India's Ministry of External affairs Y. Tiwari.

A thorough and constructive exchange of opinions on a wide range of international problems—disarmament, above all nuclear disarmament, the solution of regional conflicts, consolidation of the overall potential of peace and good will—was held. The sides confirmed the mutual resolve to continue working to establish in inter-state relations the principles of a nuclear-weapons free and non-violent world recorded in the Delhi declaration of Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi.

It was emphasized that a number of important concrete results have already been reached on this road. Of special importance is the signing of the Soviet-American treaty on intermediate-range and shorter-range missiles which signified the beginning to the process of nuclear disarmament. The participants in consultations expressed the confidence that an early conclusion of a treaty between the USSR and the USA on a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive arms with observance by the sides of the ABM Treaty and keeping from withdrawing from the treaty for a specified period of time are needed for the further improvement of the international situation. Special importance of pooling the efforts of all members of the international community in the struggle for disarmament and establishment of durable peace was emphasized.

The Indian side highly assessed the Soviet Union's peaceful foreign policy initiatives aimed at ridding humanity of the threat of thermo-nuclear catastrophe and at ensuring reliable security for the present and succeeding generations.

The Soviet representatives welcomed India's active and constructive role in world affairs, also in the framework of the Nonaligned Movement and the group of six states.

The sides confirmed their adherence to the restructuring of international economic relations on the principles of equality and justice. Close relationship between disarmament and development was emphasized.

During the consultations much attention was paid to the situation in the Asia-Pacific region. It was noted that qualitatively new positive conditions have been created in the past months for an early comprehensive settlement of such acute problems as the Afghan and Kampuchean ones on the principles of sovereignty, non-interference in internal affairs, equality, recognition of the right of every people to decide its destiny itself and choose its own political road. The participants in consultations confirmed the readiness to cooperate in every way with interested parties in untying the knots of tension in the region.

By the unanimous assessment of the sides, the interaction between the USSR and India is an important factor of the preservation and consolidation of peace in Asia and the whole world. The Soviet-Indian consultations held in a warm and friendly atmosphere will promote the further consolidation of this interaction.

East Europe

Solovyev Heads Delegation on Visit to Poland

Tour Gdansk, Meet Officials

PM051329 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 1 Apr 88 Second Edition p 6

[TASS report: "Delegation's Visit"]

[Text] Warsaw, 31 Mar—The Leningrad city delegation headed by Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad Party Obkom, which attended festivities to mark the 43d anniversary of Gdansk's liberation from the fascist invaders, visited the Gdansk Shipyard today. The guests toured this major enterprise's shops and met with the public and economic aktiv.

The delegation had a meeting with members of the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee Bureau in the afternoon. Addressing those assembled, Yu.F. Solovyev and S. Bejger, candidate member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee, spoke about the changes occurring in the Soviet Union and Poland and the processes of restructuring and socialist renewal. They noted with gratification the similarity of approaches toward the solution of fundamental socioeconomic and political problems and emphasized the great importance of Soviet-Polish cooperation in the implementation of tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress and the 10th PZPR Congress. Working people from the two port cities of Leningrad and Gdansk are also making their contribution to the strengthening of friendship and cooperation between the two countries, it was pointed out at the meeting.

A cooperation agreement between Leningrad Oblast and Gdansk Voivodship through 1990 was signed on the same day. This agreement covers for the first time the main avenues of ideological, intraparty, and economic work and cultural, educational, and sports activity. A list of labor collectives which will maintain direct ties was approved. It includes 100 enterprises, institutions, and organizations each from Leningrad and Gdansk.

Received by Jaruzelski

PM060757 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Delegation's Visit"]

[Text] Warsaw, 1 Apr—W. Jaruzelski, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee and chairman of Poland's Council of State, today received Yu.F. Solovyev, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Leningrad CPSU Obkom, who heads the Leningrad City delegation which attended festivities to mark the 43d anniversary of Gdansk's liberation from the fascist invaders.

In the course of the conversation, they discussed questions of developing interparty ties; implementing the declaration on Soviet-Polish cooperation in the sphere of ideology, science, and culture; and the specific results of cooperation between party organs and organizations following the example of Leningrad Oblast and Gdansk Voivodship which have maintained friendly ties for many years now.

Taking part in the conversation were J. Baryla, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; S. Bejger, candidate member of the Gdansk PZPR Voivodship Committee; and USSR Ambassador to Poland V.I. Brovikov.

Yu.F. Solovyev also had meetings with J. Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the PZPR Central Committee; and M. Orzechowski, member of the PZPR Central Committee Politburo and Polish foreign minister.

The Leningrad City delegation departed for home on the same day.

Poland's Messner in Moscow on Working Visit

Met by Ryzhkov, Antonov

LD051626 Moscow TASS in English 1554 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—Zbigniew Messner, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Polish United Workers Party (PUWP), chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Polish People's Republic, arrived here today for a working visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

At the airport he was met by Nikolay Ryzhkov, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, and by other officials. [Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1630 GMT on 5 April carries a similar report, adding the fact that "Comrade Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers" was also among those meeting Messner at the airport.]

Accompanied by Delegation

LD051901 Warsaw PAP in English 1753 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow, April 5—Member of the PUWP CC Political Bureau and Prime Minister Zbigniew Messner arrived here tonight for a working visit at the invitation of the Soviet Government.

At the Vnukovo Airport the Polish guest was welcomed by member of the CPSU CC Political Bureau and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR Nikolay Ryzhkov and other officials.

Premier Messner is accompanied by Deputy Prime Minister Zbigniew Szalajda, Marek Holdakowski who is head of the Department of Socio-Economic Policy at the PUWP CC, and other officials.

Polish Building Ministry Delegation Visits

LD041937 Warsaw PAP in English 1753 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow, April 4—A delegation of the Polish Ministry of the Spatial Economy and Building Industry headed by Minister Bogumil Ferensztajn was paying a visit to the USSR between March 29 and April 1 following an invitation from the USSR State Committee for Construction.

During meetings and talks held both at the committee and in the construction-related institutions, the sides discussed problems pertaining to the expansion of scientific-technological cooperation in the building industry, and particularly in housing. The talks resulted in many concrete decisions concerning among other things, cooperation between Poland and Soviet construction enterprises, scientific-technological centres and design offices.

At a meeting with journalists, Ferensztajn said that the Soviet party made a proposal for Poland to undertake the realization of various projects such as e.g. reconstruction and renovation works, also in the centre of Moscow.

The Soviet partners are interested in Poland's experiences in the organization of the private housing and are ready to undertake different forms of cooperation with Poland in this domain.

The sides devoted a lot of attention to scientific-technological cooperation in the building industry and signed an annex to a many-year protocol on such cooperation, which substantiated a number of projects that could be immediately put under way.

The offers of the Soviet partners pointed out that the USSR would be keen on using production capacities of several Polish specialized enterprises which have spare capacities due to a decline in investments at home.

Razumovskiy Receives CPCZ's Hoffman in Moscow

LD042129 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1930 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] The Soviet Union: Georgiy Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, today met with Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, who is on a working visit in Moscow.

The two representatives exchanged views on some issues of party organizational work and discussed ways of further improving it under conditions of restructuring.

Antonov Attends Reception for Hungarian Jubilee

PM051601 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Holiday of the Fraternal People"]

[Text] A festive meeting of the capital's working people held in Moscow on 1 April was devoted to Hungary's National Day, the anniversary of the country's liberation from fascism.

The speakers noted that relations between our countries are based on the firm foundation of unity between the CPSU and the MSZMP on the main issues of our time and the building of socialism and on the steady development of the socialist community's multifaceted collaboration.

Hungarian Ambassador to the USSR S. Rajnai noted that his country's people profoundly honor the memory of Soviet servicemen who gave their lives on the battlefields for a free and independent Hungary.

V.S. Shevchenko, deputy chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium; A.K. Antonov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; representatives of public organizations; and a delegation from the Hungarian-Soviet Friendship Society took part in the meeting.

On the same day S. Rajnai gave a reception to mark the holiday. The reception was attended by V.S. Shevchenko, A.K. Antonov, and other officials.

Hungary's Rajnai Speaks About Liberation Day

LD041957 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 4 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The Hungarian people today mark their national festival, Liberation Day. Taking part in our program is the ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Hungarian People's Republic, Sandor Rajnai.

[Rajnai] Dear Soviet friends: It is with a feeling of sincere respect that I address you, and I greet you with words of gratitude. After all, everything we have achieved began with the fact that Soviet troops liberated our country. The sacrifices were not in vain. Our people set off on the path of freedom and socialism.

Over the decades that have passed, we have made major achievements. Now, however, just like you, we have to make a new step forward to resolve new, difficult, and complex tasks. On the basis of the results that have been achieved we want even more socialism, more democracy, an effectively functioning economy, and a free, clean, and sincere atmosphere.

It is our firm view that our party is the instigator, the leader, and the organizer of this process.

The new foreign policy thinking and bold initiatives of the Soviet Union are gradually creating favorable external conditions for the renewal of socialism. Humanity is understanding more and more that socialism, in the international sphere also, is striving, as follows from the essence of its ideas, to ensure that our life on earth gets better, more secure, and more humane.

Dear friends, speaking of our relations, we are now living at such a time—such processes have begun which, on the basic issues, are in complete harmony. I think that today the thesis has become very topical that the close interrelationship of common ideas, thoughts, and tasks constitutes the firm basis of our friendship and cooperation.

In Hungary, we attach great hopes to everything that is taking place in your great country. And this is natural. After all, the Soviet Union is the largest socialist state. I can state that there are very many supporters of your restructuring in our country also. It gives us strength, strength and experience.

Allow me to assure you that our people, having drawn the necessary conclusions and having defined new tasks, want to act in alliance with you, and we will advance together shoulder to shoulder.

Dear friends, on the day of our festival, accept our best wishes in the cause of the successful fulfillment of the great historic tasks which you have taken upon yourselves. Thank you for your attention.

MSZMP's Kadar Receives Greek Communist Leader

PM051359 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Talks in Budapest"]

[Text] Budapest, 29 Mar—Talks were held here today between J. Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP, and K. Florakis, general secretary of the Communist Party of Greece [KKE] Central Committee, who is in Hungary at the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee. During the meeting, which proceeded in a cordial, comradely atmosphere, the sides exchanged opinions on the most important questions of international life and the international communist and workers movement. The two party leaders spoke in favor of the need to continue vigorous action to strengthen the unity of actions of the international communist movement and all peace-loving, anti-imperialist, progressive forces. It was emphasized that the processes of renewal and reform developing in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the spread of new political thinking are making a considerable contribution to strengthening international peace and security.

J. Kadar and K. Florakis highly appraised the constructive initiatives of the socialist countries, which open up real, mutually acceptable opportunities to reach accords on vital measures in the disarmament sphere and to conclude important disarmament treaties. The sides indicated the need for continued efforts in the interests of deepening the disarmament process.

The two party leaders briefed one another on the situation in their countries and on the activity and current tasks of the MSZMP and the KKE.

Envoy Sharapov Addresses Bulgarian Ceremony

AU281349 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 26 Mar 88 pp 1,2

[Report on speech by Viktor Sharapov, USSR ambassador to Bulgaria, at 25 March presentation of credentials to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and State Council chairman, in Sofia]

[Text] I have the high honor of representing the USSR in Bulgaria—a country with which we are connected with indestructible relations of real fraternal friendship, Viktor Sharapov stressed. Fraternal relations between our countries and peoples are deeply rooted in history. These rich traditions blossomed again after the October Revolution in Russia. They became even stronger after the victory of the Bulgarian working people in September 1944. Comprehensive cooperation between our states in the political, economic, scientific-technical, cultural, and other spheres obtained a solid basis as a result of the tireless care on the part of the CPSU and BCP. It develops fruitfully and dynamically in full accordance with the Treaty on Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance Between the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, whose 40th anniversary we recently marked in a festive manner.

The high civic activity of the millions of working people of our countries daily gives new dimensions to our cooperation and ensures the successful implementation of the agreements, reached at the talks between the leaders of our fraternal parties and countries, during your meetings and talks, Comrade Todor Zhivkov, with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev, the ambassador pointed out. The socialist internationalism, which became a part of our peoples' flesh and blood, and their deep interest in the successes of socialism especially brightly emerge in this context.

Our country is preparing for the 19th All-Union Conference. At this conference we will analyze the fundamental results of living and working under the conditions of restructuring during the last 3 years. Indeed, we will mark the basic directions of renewing our political system, so that we can confidently progress along the road of democratization and mobilizing all forces of our society in its renewal.

We are convinced that the positive changes in all areas of life in the USSR correspond with the interests of the other fraternal socialist countries, and the interests of progress and peace. Our determination to implement the tasks posed by the party, increases over and over again as a result of the support rendered to our policy by our friends and allies. The Soviet people feel the support and solidarity of the Bulgarian comrades.

I begin to fulfill my respectable and responsible obligations as USSR ambassador to Bulgaria in a period when your wonderful country implements with diligent and inspired work the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and the BCP National Conference, Viktor Sharapov said. We are carefully studying the practice of socialist construction in Bulgaria. This is so because the fundamental coincidence of the goals, tasks, and directions of restructuring in the USSR and the People's Republic of Bulgaria allows us to skillfully utilize the experience of our friends, in solving the tasks of elevating the development of the countries and the strengthening of relations between the two fraternal peoples in all areas of life, to a new qualitative level.

The CPSU leadership highly values USSR-Bulgarian cooperation in the international arena, which is based on strengthening the collaboration of the fraternal socialist countries, improving the mechanism of the activity of the Warsaw Pact and CEMA, and actively struggling for disarmament, eliminating the threat of a nuclear war, creating a comprehensive system of international peace and security, and ensuring human development toward a world without nuclear weapons and violence.

The new USSR ambassador stressed that he considers contributing by all means to further strengthening relations of fraternal friendship and comprehensive cooperation between our countries as his basic task. These relations serve the long-lasting interests of the Bulgarian and USSR peoples, and the interests of peace and socialism.

He assured Comrade Todor Zhivkov that he will work honestly and tirelessly toward implementing the honorable mission with which he has been entrusted by the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the USSR Government.

Vorotnikov Receives Montenegro's Jovovic

LD311213 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0952 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow, 31 Mar (TANJUG)—Vitaliy Vorotnikov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, and chairman of the RSFSR Council of Ministers, today received Igor Jovovic, acting president of the Committee for Foreign Relations of the SR of Montenegro. In a friendly conversation—in which Vladimir Vinogradov, the RSFSR minister of foreign affairs, and Milan Veres, the Yugoslav ambassador in the USSR, also took part—reference was made to the ways of furthering links and cooperation between the SR of Montenegro and the RSFSR within the framework of overall Yugoslav-Soviet relations.

West Europe

FRG's Brandt, Delegation Continue Moscow Visit

Received by Gorbachev

PM060956 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 1988 Second Edition pp 1,2

[TASS report under heading "M.S. Gorbachev's Meeting With W. Brandt"]

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev had a meeting in the Kremlin on 5 April with Willy Brandt, chairman of the Socialist International and honorary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany. Brandt was accompanied by Egon Bahr, member of the Presidium of the board of the Social Democratic Party of Germany; Jan Pronk, deputy chairman of the Labor Party of the Netherlands; and Klaus Lindenberg, Brandt's assistant.

"After the first meeting 3 years ago, the events in the world, in Europe, in relations between the USSR and the FRG developed in the main along the direction which we spoke about at the time as a desirable and possible one. This means we were realists," Mikhail Gorbachev said. "Its role was also played by the dialogue between representatives of the CPSU, the Socialist International, and the Social Democratic Party of Germany that was conducted in various forms but virtually without interruption."

Mikhail Gorbachev spoke about the substantial role played by Willy Brandt and Egon Bahr in the positive development of Soviet-West German relations and the formation of the contemporary European process.

Among the major questions raised by Willy Brandt, he gave priority to the international importance of perestroyka in the USSR. He said the whole world was interested in its course and prospects.

Mikhail Gorbachev noted how the slogan "More socialism, more democracy" had come into being, how it is being filled with concrete content in policy, economy, social relations, and the spiritual sphere. He spoke about the analysis of the situation upon which the party had arrived at the conclusion about the necessity of profound changes. He noted the importance of the theoretical work necessary for bringing out the potential of socialism and which required renunciation of dogmatism, stereotypes, and customary approaches to the evaluation of the past and the cognition of the present state of Soviet society.

"We are not looking for answers to secure perestroyka outside the framework of socialism," Gorbachev pointed out. "It does not mean a change of the ideological banner. We are convinced that the socialist system contains inexhaustible potentialities for the sound development of the economy and public relations and for establishment of lofty standards of morality, justice, and spirituality.

"We have lost quite a lot from what Vladimir I. Lenin's approach to building socialism contained. We are reviving his great designs now, but with due account for new conditions and possibilities. Otherwise, this would be just another version of dogmatism.

"Perestroyka does not mean that we are closing in within our own framework. Lenin's demand that socialism be built while absorbing all accomplishments of universal human science and culture has become ever more topical.

"We widely open doors for the study of the world around us, for mastering the best accomplishments of other nations."

Gorbachev dwelt on the reasons why the reforms of the 1950's and 1960's did not work, even though many of their elements were correct, substantial, and attractive.

The main reason was the absence of policy that would have included people.

That is why we have placed chief emphasis on democratization of society, on involving people in all processes: economic, political and ideological. [The following and subsequent variations are from a similar report carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1800 GMT on 5 April. Here Moscow Radio adds: "That is why, in restructuring, we have placed chief emphasis on democratization of society, on involving people in all processes: economic, political and ideological."] The working people are the chief protagonists of the perestroyka drive. Its irreversibility depends precisely on their attitudes and on their performance.

Perestroyka has swept the entire nation. The party's policy encompassed all sections of society, spread to all spheres of its life.

These are no longer islands of renewal. All of our society has moved forward. And like a spaceship on takeoff, our society is experiencing heavy overload.

Discussions and acute clashes of opinions are inevitable and, in principle, useful. They are a symptom of activeness, involvement, and profound and sincere interest of the people in the developments of their country. [Moscow Radio adds: "Discussions, disputes, and acute clashes of opinions are inevitable and, in principle, useful. They are a symptom of activeness, lack of indifference, and profound and sincere interest of the people in the developments in their country."]

This is a manifestation of the concern about the fate of perestroyka, of socialism. People are accumulating the culture of ideological, political dialogue and the ability to handle affairs in a new way. The party and society are learning to work in conditions of democracy.

People's support for party policy is making itself felt to an increasing extent. There is more convincing evidence that the people are attached to socialism, to socialist ideals and values, that they are deeply concerned about the future of Soviet society.

"There is also confusion in minds. Some are panicking. There are people who think everything is collapsing. Just as in the beginning of this century 'matter vanished' in the perceptions of some people as a result of new discoveries in physics, now it seems to some that 'socialism is vanishing.' But in reality, it is ridding itself of everything that had deformed it in the past and is demonstrating tremendous dynamism, the wealth of its social and humanistic content.

"Our biggest difficulty today is the restructuring of mentality. I would say that this is the pivot of perestroyka. In these conditions the main thing for the party is to conduct matters in the country with a sense of responsibility, calmly, confidently, and consistently, and to press for the fulfillment of the adopted decisions. I do not think that we were wise in everything or that we adopted all the proper decisions. [Moscow Radio adds: "I do not think that we were wise in everything or that we decided everything as we should have done."] It may be that we have also erred in something. But we are open to self-adjustment as we gain experience of perestroyka. Herein lies one of the tasks of the forthcoming 19th party conference. At it we will evaluate what was done during the three years and impart impulses along all directions of perestroyka, especially in what concerns society's political system.

"We say perestroyka is a revolution because a qualitative breakthrough is taking place. By means of perestroyka, society will acquire new quality both in its basis and in its superstructure."

On Willy Brandt's request, Mikhail Gorbachev told him how the party and government were now solving problems of combining the long-term tasks of perestroyka with current concrete problems of raising living standards.

The question of the variety of tendencies in the West's perception of perestroyka was raised. Along with the tremendous growth of interest in and even of sympathy and support for the processes developing in the USSR and, to a certain extent also as a result of this, negative tendencies are mounting as well. Certain circles have become afraid that socialism is displaying dynamism, that the Soviet Union's foreign policy, based on new thinking, is eroding the "enemy image," that the things on which the anti-Soviet policy in the West has been based for so many years are falling apart, Mikhail Gorbachev said. This tendency is fraught with danger to the processes of improvement of international relations and to the cause of disarmament. Using the openness of our society, certain quarters are beginning to speculate on the natural difficulties of perestroyka. They are trying to interfere in our internal affairs, to exacerbate problems from the outside and to engage in provocations. At present, this is particularly visible in connection with the events around Nagorno-Karabakh, Mikhail Gorbachev said further.

"Various radio stations, including official ones, have joined in the subversive activity. Especially active among them is Deutsche Welle. It would be absurd to suppose that such attempts could push us away from the course of perestroyka. We will handle problems that have accumulated, including on the nationalities issue, within the framework of the democratic process we have firmly chosen."

In discussing international questions, Gorbachev and Brandt stated good knowledge of each other's positions.

They expressed the common view that the striving to improve the international situation on principles of peaceful co-existence and de-ideologization of inter-state relations was growing in strength around the world.

"In working out our course based on new thinking," Gorbachev observed, "we combine traditions going back to Lenin's time with the account of current realities, views and sentiments of world public opinion, ideas and initiatives advanced by our socialist friends, communist parties, and proposals reflected in such documents as reports by the commissions of Palme, Brandt, and Brundtland, in documents of the Nonaligned Movement."

Brandt informed Gorbachev about the Socialist International's considerations related to issues of security and disarmament. Noting that the positions of the Socialist International were close to those of the Soviet Union on a number of essential issues, he expressed satisfaction with cooperation between the CPSU and various bodies of the Socialist International, for instance, its advisory council on disarmament, headed by Kalevi Sorsa.

The sides exchanged views on the possibility of a Soviet-American agreement on strategic offensive arms.

Gorbachev said that such prospects were realistic. "We can state that questions connected with the drafting of the treaty have been elaborated to a great degree.

"Mutually acceptable compromise can be found on issues yet to be resolved.

"We see the situation developing in the United States with regard to the treaty. We do not dramatize it. On our part, we will continue doing everything possible so that such a treaty be prepared and concluded."

Replying to Egon Bahr's question, Mikhail Gorbachev evaluated the situation concerning the conclusion of a convention on the prohibition and elimination of chemical weapons. There is a slowdown, although on our part we have done much to achieve results already in the nearest future, Mikhail Gorbachev said. He again supported the efforts by the Social Democratic Party of Germany, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia to create a zone free of chemical weapons in the center of Europe. He added that this step, important as it is itself, could accelerate advance to the ultimate aim: total prohibition of chemical weapons.

On the question of reducing conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe, the interlocutors confirmed their positions about the need to eliminate their tactical nuclear arms in conditions of a balance of conventional armaments but on a lower level excluding offensive actions.

The idea of a European roundtable was discussed in detail. The discussion revealed dissimilar approaches to the form of such a multilateral dialogue. But since the aim is one and the same—to draw into the process of preparing a draft of the "common European home" a maximum not only of government but also of other political and public forces—it was agreed to go deeper into this idea in the future.

The theme of integration was also raised. Mikhail Gorbachev drew attention to the danger of the militaristic component in this process which in its economic, ecological, cultural and other aspects is of an objective nature and should be taken into account by all Europeans. It is important, as Willy Brandt stressed, that the integration processes should not damage detente and the cause of disarmament, that economic integration in Western Europe should lead not to its self-isolation but to greater openness in the direction of Eastern Europe.

The "European home," Mikhail Gorbachev said, should be built on the principle of respect for the choice made by each European people. No differences can and should impede the development of understanding and diverse cooperation between Europeans, from the Atlantic to the Urals. "We spoke about this recently with Alessandro Natta. Now we are speaking with you, and we hope that all together we will be able to facilitate advancement of the deepening and development of the all-European dialogue", Mikhail Gorbachev said.

Special attention was given to the problem of "disarmament for development" and North-South relations. Jan Pronk described how that subject was being handled by the Socialist International. Gorbachev stressed the importance of the overall problem of the developing countries. After the threat of nuclear war, this harbored the greatest danger to the future of civilization. "It is high time that palliative solutions of all kind give way to the internationalization of this problem. It is time that the West analyze all that from the position of reason, with due account for the imperatives of the times. Otherwise, consequences may be extremely hard for all."

He voiced readiness for constructive cooperation both in what concerns the theoretical elaboration of the problem and in the search for political approaches to its solution.

In conclusion, the sides expressed satisfaction with the open, substantive conversation which, the ideological differences remaining, made it possible to advance in the understanding of the shared responsibility for the destinies of Europe and the world.

"The level of our relations is now such," Gorbachev observed, "that it enables us to cooperate fruitfully on problems that can hardly be resolved without the active and constructive participation of the CPSU and the Socialist International, without other democratic and left-wing forces in Europe."

The meeting was attended by Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin and members of the CPSU Central Committee Vadim Zagladin and Anatoliy Chernyayev.

Gorbachev on Summit Prospects

LD051418 Hamburg DPA in German 1319 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow (DPA)—According to SPD [Social Democratic Party of Germany] disarmament expert Egon Bahr, Soviet party leader Mikhail Gorbachev no longer believes that an agreement on the halving of strategic atomic weapons can be signed at the forthcoming fourth U.S.-Soviet summit meeting at the end of May in Moscow. After a discussion between SPD Honorary Chairman Willy Brandt and Gorbachev lasting around 4 hours, Bahr stated in front of journalists that the Soviet leader "would still like to hope. But he fears that he may not hope for political reasons." Brandt, president of the Socialist International, described the exchange of views with Gorbachev as very diversified and very open.

The Soviet leader also made it clear that he believes he can master the present domestic difficulties and the recent nationality problems in the Caucasian Soviet republics of Armenia and Azerbaijan, Brandt said. Gorbachev, who explained his reform policy of restructuring over a 1 and 1/2-hour period, declared that it is better to have the problems in the open on the table rather than underneath it.

Brandt, Bahr, and Jan Pronk, the Netherlander socialist and expert on North-South problems, arrived in Moscow on Monday evening. Brandt intends to talk with Andrey Gromyko, president of the Supreme Soviet, on Wednesday and with Anatoliy Dobrynin, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee responsible for foreign affairs. Brandt also intends to meet the Soviet regime critic Andrey Sakharov, who was decorated with the Nobel Peace Prize. An international press conference with Brandt is also planned for midday on Wednesday in Moscow.

Bahr criticized the West, saying that it has not adequately recognized the readiness of the USSR to take steps toward disarmament in the conventional area while incorporating theater nuclear weapons. Gorbachev expressed his disappointment that NATO has not yet responded to the proposals of the Warsaw Pact in this area. Pronk said that the USSR is prepared to play a more active and constructive role than it has to date in the North-South dialogue between the rich industrial nations and the poor developing countries.

Regional conflicts such as Afghanistan are not due to be discussed until Wednesday in the talks with Dobrynin, Brandt said. Brandt and Bahr avoided answering a question on what Gorbachev said about German-Soviet relations. The Soviet leader mentioned two points, and he (Bahr) would speak about them "only when we are back home."

Dobrynin, Others at Reception

LD052232 Moscow TASS in English 1658 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—The FRG Ambassador in the USSR Andreas Meyer-Landrut held a reception today on the occasion of the stay in the Soviet Union of Willy Brandt, chairman of the Socialist International, honourary chairman of the Social Democratic Party of Germany.

The reception was attended by Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Anatoliy Dobrynin and other officials.

French, Spanish Defense Ministers Hold Talks

PM010845 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 29 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko: "Strengthening Military Ties"]

[Text] Paris—The French and Spanish defense ministers, A. Giraud and N. Serra, have completed work in Paris on the preparation of a bilateral agreement on military cooperation in the Mediterranean and in particular on the use of satellites engaged in collecting intelligence data and the creation of a common air defense system.

Spain intends to take part in work to create the French "Helios" military satellite and to use the information which will be collected by U.S. Boeing aircraft equipped with the AWACS early warning system. (Within the next few years, they will join the French Air Force).

This agreement, the newspaper LE MONDE notes, acquires special importance if you consider that at the end of last year France signed a similar agreement with another Mediterranean country—Italy, to be precise. Attention is being drawn to the expansion of military ties between Madrid and Paris. Spain is buying Mirage F-1 fighter aircraft, Super-Puma helicopters, AMX tanks, and Roland missiles in France. For its part, France actively supports the candidacy of Spain, which intends to join the WEU military-political organization, designed to become NATO's European bulwark.

Murakhovskiy Receives Swedish Businessman

PM051345 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 30 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation Held"]

[Text] On 29 March V.S. Murakhovskiy, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers and chairman of the USSR Gosagroprom, received K. Alund, president of the Swedish firm Karlshamn AB. During the conversation, they discussed specific issues concerning the deepening of cooperation in the food industry.

Latin America & Caribbean

Deployment of U.S. Troops to Panama Viewed

LD051219 Moscow TASS in English 1103 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—TASS diplomatic correspondent reports:

Washington which has failed to attain its goals by means of political and psychological pressure exerted on Panama and by imposing economic sanctions on that small Latin American country is now stepping up military pressure on it.

The transportation of another 1,300 U.S. servicemen to the Panama Canal Zone was started today. They will be added to 10,000 U.S. officers and men who are permanently deployed at U.S. military bases. According to the Pentagon, a further deployment of the troops will depend on circumstances.

The U.S. Administration is trying to explain its actions with regard to Panama by the need for ensuring the safety of the canal and protecting the life, property and interests of Americans in that region.

Washington seems to be forgetting that the present-day crisis was provoked and has been continually kindled by the United States and it alone, that by its sanctions the United States practically left Panama without means of subsistence.

It is believed in the Moscow diplomatic circles that the situation in Panama is another confirmation of the fact that methods of blackmail, diktat and power pressure from the outside do not promote in any way the settlement of conflict situations. Moreover, they can lead only to the emergence of new hotbeds of international tension.

Sapoa Accord Causes 'Confusion' in Washington

PM051343 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 2 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 5

[Own correspondent A. Blinov dispatch under the rubric "After the Talks at Sapoa": "Trying To Gain Time..."]

[Text] Washington—Confusion: This is how one may describe the reaction of U.S. official circles to the agreement signed in the Nicaraguan border village of Sapoa. It turns out that the contras signed it against the advice they had received from Washington. According to a report in THE WASHINGTON POST, when the agreement had practically been prepared, A. Calero, a member of the contra delegation, consulted Washington by telephone. From the U.S. capital he was told of the administration's "strong disapproval." Nevertheless, after conferring among themselves, the contras' representatives set their signatures to the cease-fire agreement.

The Sapoa agreement, THE NEW YORK TIMES Managua correspondent S. Kinzer writes in its Sunday issue, "showed that, despite what many people think, the Nicaraguans are capable of leaving the accumulated hatred to one side and striding toward peace.... Although new talks and concessions by both sides still lie ahead, the political atmosphere in Nicaragua changed literally in the space of an hour." The U.S. newspaper correspondent points out: "The contras have abandoned their dream of overthrowing the Sandinistas, although some people in Washington political circles still hope for this."

It was precisely the possibility of losing the hired military force that worried the U.S. Administration and influential circles in Congress. If the political atmosphere in Nicaragua changed rapidly in favor of peace, the U.S. Congress equally quickly drew up a new "aid package" for the contras. A bill to give the contras $48 million in aid was put through Congress literally in the space of a week. The House of Representatives voted for it Wednesday, and the Senate Thursday.

The aid package is officially called "humanitarian"; that is, not including weapons. However, it is known that "humanitarian" aid includes not only foodstuffs but also "communications equipment."

"What is the U.S. attitude to the Sapoa agreement in connection with the bill's adoption? For it is obvious that communications equipment can be used when conducting military operations. What other similar equipment is included in the aid package?"

I put these questions at a regular briefing to State Department Spokesman C. Redman. The official U.S. spokesman could not confirm in any way his claims that the new aid package does not run counter to the terms of the Sapoa agreement. As for the precise makeup of the aid package, that is "known better in Congress," he declared. The question of the administration's position remained unbroached.

A. Cranston, a liberal senator, pointed out in this connection: "The aid package, as I know, is regarded by supporters of military aid as a means of keeping the contras' combat forces on the spot on the threshold of the resumption of military operations." Senator B. Adams, another critic of interference in Central America, compared the U.S. actions with the "Vietnam disaster." "We are once again giving support to a military force waging a war which is doomed to defeat," he declared.

Talk of Nicaraguan Normalization 'Premature'

PM051325 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 3 Apr 88 Second Edition p 4

[Special correspondent N. Ognev dispatch: "Start of Normalization"]

[Text] Managua, 2 Apr—The new month was marked by the first concrete steps on the way to achieving a peace settlement in Nicaragua. In accordance with the truce agreement and as a result of the accords secured in the southern Nicaraguan settlement of Sapoa, counterrevolutionary hirelings from groupings which have infiltrated the country's territory from outside to wage armed struggle began to withdraw yesterday into specially designated areas.

According to preliminary estimates, approximately 2,000 contras will be concentrated in five border zones: two in the north, two on the Atlantic coast, and one in the south.

The agreement for a 60-day truce, which means that Nicaragua will have a peaceful respite for the first time in almost 7 years, also came into force along with the commencement of these units' withdrawal.

However, events show that it is as yet premature to talk confidently about a normalization of the situation around this Central American state.

Whereas the peace initiatives are fully supported by the Sandinist government, there are substantial conflicts in the opposite camp. The Sapoa accords have provoked open division in the contra leadership. Enrique Bermudez, one of the leaders of the so-called "Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance," called on its radio for a "fight to the finish." This former colonel in the Somozist guard rejected the idea of a cease-fire and expressed his disagreement with the members of the contra leadership who took part in the peace talks with representatives of the Sandinista government.

The idea of a peace settlement in Nicaragua, the country's president D. Ortega pointed out in an interview with local and foreign journalists, is not supported by a number of "Nicaraguan Democratic Resistance" leaders, who are continuing to urge further "undeclared war." These rabble-rousers were really helped by the U.S. Senate's approval of financial aid for counterrevolutionary units amounting to $48 million for so-called "humanitarian purposes." D. Ortega condemned Washington's policy on Nicaragua and stated that the Reagan administration is continuing to gamble on destroying the Sandinist revolution by using weapons.

Ortega Cited on U.S. Congress Contra Aid

LD051648 Moscow TASS in English 1631 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Managua April 5 TASS—Despite the U.S. Administration's designs the Nicaraguan Government is fully resolved to press for the fulfilment of the 60-day cease-fire agreement that was signed recently between the Sandinistas and the contras in the Nicaraguan settlement of Sapoa, President Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua said here Monday.

The decision of the United States Congress to allocate millions of more dollars for the counter-revolutionary formations shows that the Washington administration is not interested in an ending of hostilities in Nicaragua, he told journalists. It continues to insist on its interventionist policy in respect of Nicaragua and on expanding interference in the internal affairs of the region's countries, he said. The approval by the American Congress of the so called "humanitarian" aid to the contras formations contradicts the Sapoa agreement which provides for the provision of such assistance only through international organisations. Such U.S. actions, the Nicaraguan leader went on, flagrantly violate norms of international law and are an attempt to legalise the U.S. aggressive policy in respect of Nicaragua.

Daniel Ortega condemned the intent of certain counterrevolutionary circles to procrastinate and, if possible, frustrate the talks on a final cease-fire, scheduled for April 6.

As to the Nicaraguan Government, the president said, it is strictly abiding by its commitments within the framework of the above-mentioned agreement. He again called on the United States Administration to resume bilateral talks with the aim of normalising relations between the two countries and strengthening mutual security.

Meantime it has become known that the contras have flagrantly violated the Sapoa agreement by attacking the Mantanita settlement in northern Nicaragua. Three peaceful civilians were killed and three wounded in the attack.

San Francisco April 5 TASS—Representatives of a number of U.S. anti-war organisations will stay in Nicaragua for the entire period of talks between the Sandinistas and contras on a final ending of hostilities in Nicaragua, it was stated by the prominent American peace champion Brian Willson. He said the purpose of this was to promote the attainment of the agreement and a political settlement of the situation in Central America.

Brian Willson made this statement on returning here from a two-week trip to Nicaragua.

Salvadoran 'Patriots' Report Military Successes

LD051221 Moscow TASS in English 1101 GMT
5 Apr 88

[Text] Havana April 5 TASS—Salvadoran patriots put out of action 52 soldiers of the army of the Duarte regime last week. The rebel broadcasting station Venceremos reported Monday that especially fierce fighting had taken place in the Cabanas Department where guerrillas had killed 15 men from the punitive troops as a result of an ambush at one of highways. Men of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front wounded 17 soldiers in clashes with Army units in San Miguel Department.

Armed clashes took place last week in other parts of El Salavador as well. In a number of departments of the country rebel detachments staged a series of acts of subversion against military-economic facilities of the regime.

Political & Social

Stepanakert Workers Returning to Factories

Media Influence Viewed

PM051502 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 6 Apr 88 Morning Edition p 3

[Special correspondent P. Gutiontov report: "Stepanakert: 5 April"]

[Text] Today it can be said with confidence that the situation in the city has undergone a real improvement. By 0900 hours the workers at the construction materials combine were in their shops, at full strength. More than one-half of the workers at the electrical equipment plant and the Karabakh Silk Combine and one-third of the workers at the footwear and furniture factories were at their machine tools.

I do not want to speculate, but it appears that the city is beginning to emerge from the stalemate situation into which it was driven by the turbulent emotions that today do so much to hamper the resolution of the autonomous oblast's problems.

I know what efforts all this cost. I know that certain agitators who went around the workers' apartments in the evening and persuaded them to go to work next day were practically called traitors to their faces. I know in what difficult conditions party and soviet workers had to work, people who have had no Saturdays or Sundays for many weeks and whose working day has no beginning and no end. These people, the majority of whom have only just come to the helm of the oblast at such a difficult hour for it, are having to relearn their jobs as they go along, get rid of the former stereotypes, seek ways to come out of the conference halls and reach the people, and win trust and respect for their word out of the heaps of protocols and decisions manufactured in advance.

All that is true. But it is essential to say this, too. Unfortunately, the mounds of "objective" factors created in the past are not the only obstacles along the path to the final normalization of the situation today. Certain items published in the republican press also have a place, and not the least important place, among these factors today. A resolution of the recent Stepanakert party gorkom plenum unanimously condemned the article "Spontaneous, or Organized?" by journalist L. Polonskiy, published in BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY on 26 March and giving, in the opinion of the city's Communists, a distorted and biased picture of events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. Exactly a week later, on 2 April, the same newspaper published an article by poet F. Mekhti and Kh. Mamedov, corresponding member of the Azerbaijan Academy of Sciences, "Worrying Spring." Spring in Karabakh this year is indeed worrying, but it is clearly not the spring that BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY will now have to study, but the fact that the party obkom bureau, at an extraordinary session, basically condemned this article.

It is embarrassing to talk about the work of colleagues, but in my view V. Antonyan, director of Gishi secondary school in Martuninskiy Rayon, is rightly indignant that the republican KOMMUNIST published over his signature (and in the name of all the people of Karabakh) a text which was read out to him beforehand over the telephone and from which he immediately and unequivocally dissociated himself. One can hardly fail to understand the feelings of war veteran S. Petrosyan, who was dumbfounded to learn that his signature appears under a "response" disseminated through the channels of AZERINFORM.

The weight of every word printed in the newspaper in Stepanakert today is greater than ever before. These words undergo the most searching "quality control" inspection by readers, far-reaching conclusions are drawn on the basis of each of these words; these words send excited public opinion plunging from one extreme to the other. Naturally, this requires particular accuracy and thoughtfulness from every one of us journalists in our publications.

Today Nagorno-Karabakh needs a calm breathing space at last. We must help it to achieve that.

On Monday the USSR minister of communications visited the oblast, and this alone was quite sufficient to decide a question over which lances have been broken for years on end without discussion or coordination. Soon the inhabitants of the Stepanakert and Shushi zones will be able to see Armenian television broadcasts.

One becomes more and more convinced that any problems, however acute, can be solved, given the will and a calm working atmosphere. Just such an atmosphere is of vital importance for Karabakh today.

Western News Coverage Condemned

PM051421 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 14, 2-8 Apr 88 (Signed to Press 31 Mar 88) pp 2, 3

[B. Konovalov article under the rubric "Western Mass Media About the USSR": "Evil Voices"]

[Text] For weeks now the words "Nagorno-Karabakh" have appeared regularly in the pages of the Western press. You could get the impression that the numerous and highly acute social, national, and racial problems in West European and North American countries, which usually provide material for newspaper and journal articles, have resolved themselves: Much less is being written about them today.

A sharp "tilt" in the direction of fanning passions around Karabakh can also be traced in broadcasts by "radio voices." On the eve of 26 March VOA beamed into the airwaves what were essentially direct calls to the Armenian population to come out and demonstrate in Yerevan on that day, and when this did not happen, called on them to stay home.

At the same time, BBC radio, clearly encouraging nationalistic and extremist feelings, broadcast an interview with an unnamed Azerbaijani supposedly declaring that "if Karabakh is handed over to the Armenians, this will mean war. And we will be supported by the Turks and our brothers in Iran."

News from Armenia and Azerbaijan also made the front pages in a whole series of major periodicals in the West. Recently there were indications that reports about the USSR in these publications were becoming more sober and more considered. And suddenly—back to stereotypes.

"A Crack in the Soviet Facade"—this is the provocatively brash assessment of events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh by the U.S. magazine NEWSWEEK. "Soviet Union: Growing Ethnic Disturbances"—this is how TIME magazine whips up passions. And an article in the French magazine L'EXPRESS on the situation in Armenia was like a military communique in the style of its presentation: "Throughout the republic enterprises are on strike, transport is paralyzed, schools have closed down.... Troops have been airlifted to Yerevan by night—they are now stationed in strategically important locations.... Tanks have been moved into the capital's suburbs...," and so on.

West Germany's DER SPIEGEL let mainly members of "the most active dissident groups in Moscow" (as the magazine itself described them) provide an assessment of events in and around Nagorno-Karabakh. The headline of DER SPIEGEL's article contained the words "That Was a Week of Freedom," referring to events in Yerevan and originating, as DER SPIEGEL wrote, from "S. Grigoryants, chief editor of the banned journal GLASNOST."

Another West German journal, STERN, headlined its article "A Hundred Peoples Against Moscow. Loss of Life in Azerbaijan, Insurgency in Armenia and the Baltic Republics: Nationality Conflicts Threaten Gorbachev and His Policy of Reforms." Next to the headline the journal carried a photograph from last year of workers taking down the Soviet leader's photograph after a festive demonstration. There is no direct link between the photograph and the text, but STERN is evidently banking on subconscious association of the two.

Encouraging Nationalism [subhead]

By now we already have a good idea of the actual events which occurred in the Transcaucasus in February and March of this year and of their causes. We also know about the steps being taken to solve the accumulated problems. It is well known that the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a resolution on the acceleration of socioeconomic development in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast; the USSR Prosecutor's Office is investigating crimes and breaches of the law in Sumgait on 28 February, as well as breaches of the law in Nagorno- Karabakh at the end of February.

A decision to convene a CPSU Central Committee plenum on the nationalities question was announced even before events in Nagorno-Karabakh started unfolding.

But all this is mentioned only incidentally by the Western press. The main desire is to prove something else to their readers. The aforementioned STERN headline is indicative; it seems to encompass the entire line of these arguments. More specifically, their essence is as follows.

According to NEWSWEEK, for example, the events of the last few weeks were "only the latest manifestation of chronic tension and recrimination among the more than 100 nationalities comprising the multilingual Soviet Union.... This is an empire being broken apart by unrest." TIME magazine ponders the prospects of "the loss of Moscow's control over non-Russian peoples," backing its arguments with demographic data. Under the headline "Distribution of Forces in the Year 2000," TIME carries a map of the USSR (compiled, as the magazine indicates, in accordance with data from the CIA), which shows in red the territory which is estimated to be inhabited mainly by Russians in the year 2000, using black and grey for all other nationalities.

In order to ensure greater veracity, historical facts are cited, but if the truth be told, they are interpreted quite arbitrarily at times. In particular, TIME opens with truthful data about the genocide against the Armenian people in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, but at the end of its note describes Armenia as "a country which has fought for its freedom against Turks from the West and Russians from the North."

STERN, taking liberties with the idea of internationalism, tells its readers the following joke: "Internationalism Caucasian-style: Georgians, Armenians, and Azerbaijanis who hate each other are uniting to hate and beat the Russians." Encouraging religious extremists, the magazine offers this idea: "The Kremlin is a long way away, Khomeyni is nearby."

Finally, TIME diagnoses a "serious political crisis on a national basis" in the Soviet Union, which could prove "fatal" for the policy of restructuring.

Is It Necessary To "Retrieve the Situation?"... [subhead]

Public opinion polls in the West show that the negative image of the USSR, cultivated in the minds of West Europeans and North Americans for decades, has been strongly shaken in the last 2 to 3 years. Changes are also perceptible in the pages of the Western press: There has been more objectivity in the coverage of everything to do with the Soviet Union.

It looks as if the publishers of some Western periodicals are now trying to "retrieve the situation." In this instance the real problems of inter-nation relations in our country are being used as only the "starting point" for speculation and the creation of a biased impression of the Soviet Union as a country torn apart by inter-nation contradictions, with force supposedly the main thing being relied upon to resolve them.

The assessments made by different publications and "radio voice" broadcasts may be more or less categorical, but the general trend—to whip up fear and fan national dissension—is quite clearly visible. And yet you would have thought that people in the West should have learned a long time ago from their own experiences that neither fear nor intransigence are any help in solving inter-nation problems (let us just recall the bleeding wounds of Northern Ireland). Only a calm and sober approach, taking into account the interests of all nations and ethnic groups, can help here.

Stepanakert Returning to Normal

PM061359 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 88 p 2

[Report by own special correspondent S. Romanyuk carried under the general heading "Living and Working Together": "Stepanakert, April"]

[Text] Stepanakert, Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast, Azerbaijan SSR—The people of Karabakh will certainly remember yesterday. For the first time since 24 March a working atmosphere prevailed in the shops of many Stepanakert enterprises. That marks a success. It inspires hope. It shows that sense is prevailing over emotion.

Public transport has appeared on the city streets. Fixed-route buses and taxis are running to schedule. Institute lecture halls and schools are full. All the stores are open. The situation is getting back to normal.

We are in the plastics treatment shop of the Stepanakert Electrical Engineering Plant, the machine tools are running, shop chief Slavik Avetisyan speaks:

"Our enterprise has been in existence since 1961. Our shop had never yet failed to meet its target. Nor the plant as a whole. Last year, for example, we produced above-plan output worth almost R500,000. But in March we did fail to meet our target for the first time...."

It is neither the plan, nor shift targets, which are yet at issue. The main thing is to ensure that everyone reports for work. And that is the goal the leaders of enterprises and Komsomol and party activists have uppermost in their mind. They are working in very difficult conditions. Much depends on authority. Wherever it is present, things are running smoothly. There are now enterprises where everyone, without exception, has reported for work. But there are also enterprises where the situation remains very difficult.

Who is responsible for this?

Leaflets urging people to continue striking are still appearing in the mailboxes of the city's inhabitants. I have seen them: They are written in a shaky hand, with grammatical mistakes. This is incitement. Outright incitement. And it has to be acknowledged that some people are still for the time being succumbing to it.

Strikes Continue 6 Apr

AU061023 Paris AFP in English 1015 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow, April 6 (AFP)—A two-week-old strike continued Wednesday in Stepanakert, chief town of the Armenian-claimed Azerbaijani region of Nagorno-Karabakh, local officials said. "The majority of workers have gone back to work, but there are still some who are not working. There are very few of them," an official of the local party regional committee told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE. A journalist at the local daily SOVETSKIY KARABAKH said 60 to 80 per cent of the population had gone back to work Tuesday. He said individuals from nearby towns, some from the Azerbaijan capital of Baku, had distributed leaflets calling on the town's 35,000 people to carry on the strike. But all the "agitators" had been detained, he added.

In Moscow, the Soviet press reported Wednesday that calm had been restored in Stepanakert, admitting however that a part of the population was still on strike. "There are firms where everyone, without exception, was working (Tuesday). There are others where the situation remains very complex," the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA said. It described Monday, when several firms resumed activity, as a "turning point" since the beginning of the work stoppages strikes on March 24. The strike was called to support demands that Nagorno-Karabakh, an Armenian-dominated region attached to Azerbaijan in 1923, be returned to Armenia. Buses are running again in Stepanakert, "all the shops are working" and students are back at school, the daily added.

Meanwhile, in the latest edition of the Azerbaijan party daily BAKINSKY RABOCHY received here Wednesday, a poet and an academic spoke of Karabakh's chronic shortage of water, staple foods and schoolbooks. They complained of the shabby state of roads and the absence of a daily in the Azerbaijani language. But the authors also criticized agitation in the area, accusing nationalist Armenians of begging for help from the Western countries and issuing "provocative" calls to the population. The article had been criticized for its "partial" reports at a meeting of the party organization for Stepanakert, the Soviet government daily IZVESTIYA wrote Tuesday.

Buses, Plants Running

PM061609 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Apr 88 First Edition p 6

[S. Oganyan article: "Stepanakert: A City At Work" under rubric "This Issue's Report"]

[Text] The first working week in April at the Stepanakert Electrical Equipment Plant began with a disconcerting result for its collective: The enterprise is R1.8 million in arrears to the state. This has been the cost of absenteeism from work in connection with the events surrounding Nagorno-Karabakh. The cost would have been less if everyone had gone back to work on Monday. But, despite the decision taken by the party gorkom plenum, this week began in such a way that it could only be called a working week at a great stretch of the imagination. On Monday only 30 percent of the work force turned up at the plant, and on Tuesday—60 percent. Only on Wednesday was the turnout 100 percent.

Lighting equipment, table lamps, wall lamps, floor lamps. The electrical equipment plant should produce R70,000 worth of these every day. So all these days that people have not been turning up at work, others have been waiting for these products in more than 300 places all over the country. They waited and hoped that emotion would inevitably give way to sober thinking and that love for work, a sense of responsibility, and duty would prove stronger than the prevailing desire to "hold rallies."

"We had one of the ministry heads down to see us the other day," B. Arushanyan, plant director, said. "He met the workers and reminded them of their duties to the country. It was a calm, businesslike, frank discussion. Our immediate aim is the April target. We must meet this target and get the enterprise back into its normal working rhythm."

Of course, the discussions about the fate of Nagorno-Karabakh and its problems, which led to strikes and demonstrations, are not dying down. The people of Stepanakert are holding a lively discussion of the party and government resolution. The sections which talk about bringing in Armenian specialists to work on the restoration of historical monuments and the prospect of receiving television and radio broadcasts direct from Armenia are meeting with approval. At the same time, some people are questioning the expediency of locating new enterprises in the oblast. Their motive for saying this is the fact that existing enterprises are still short of manpower. What is more, new plants could lead to an upsetting of the ecological balance.

It goes without saying that you can either agree or disagree with these arguments. The main task is to ensure that the discussions do not become an end in themselves, relegate real work to the background, or undermine the ties between Stepanakert and the whole autonomous oblast with the rest of the country. Life is getting back to normal. The bus run between Stepanakert and Baku has been resumed and city transport is working to schedule.

"By midday on Wednesday 6 April virtually the whole of Stepanakert was back to work," V. Atadzhanyan, secretary of the Nagorno-Karabakh party obkom, said, checking his report. "Even the building sites have come back to life. Shops which were standing idle only yesterday are now manufacturing goods the country needs."

In this respect an example is being set by our flagship, the Karshelkombinat. People are coming back with a desire to work well and make up the time lost in March. Unfortunately, the situation is a little worse in the construction organizations....

Studies are being organized in student lecture halls and schools.

Nagorno-Karabakh 'Difficult Spring' Pondered

PM051413 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 2 Apr 88 p 2

[Article by correspondent V. Sinitsyn under the "National Relations: History and the Present Day" rubric: "Karabakh's Difficult Spring"]

[Text] Azerbaijan SSR—Almost every spring is a test of character for Azerbaijan's arable farmers. But this spring has been kind in terms of both rain and sun—everything in moderation: for sowing the feed crops, driving the sowing units out onto the fields. And although that is what many of the peasants of the Milskaya steppe, the fertile Murgan, or Nagorno-Karabakh are doing, the spring has been difficult for them. A spring such as there has not been for many decades...

It is by no means the weather which is testing the sower's character and his loyalty to the land, but the events which have developed in Nagorno-Karabakh and Sumgait, and around them. Events which have perturbed the whole country. The perplexity of people of many nationalities has been replaced by concern, which has given way to profound anguish: What is happening in Azerbaijan, in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO]?

Now that many but not all the i's have been dotted, you take a different view, from a new angle, of the complex socioeconomic, spiritual, and ethnic problems of Nagorno-Karabakh and its population of nearly 200,000, of whom three-quarters are Armenians. Their grandfathers and great grandfathers have lived here for centuries alongside Azerbaijanis. Together they cultivated the poor mountain land and were glad to share their bread and water—what could be more precious? And although at the dawn of the century inter-nation [mezhnatsionalnyye] discord nearly erupted, it was none other than the peasants of both nationalities who had watered the land with their sweat who were the first to hear the voice of the Baku Bolsheviks raising the Azerbaijanis and Armenians to the struggle for social and national liberation, for their land, for a life worthy of man.

That is history? Yes, of course. As is another page of history describing the anti-Soviet rebellions of 1918-1920 in which nearly one-fifth of the population of Nagorno-Karabakh died. Peasants, primarily peasants... That is the truth, but not the whole truth. That truth lies elsewhere, in something which is probably not known to some of today's historians, writers, journalists, and VUZ teachers stuck in the territorial intricacies of the early Middle Ages, but which was known to us, the adolescents of the twenties and thirties: The bloody bonfires were kindled by Nuri-Pasha's gangs of Musavat [Azerbaijani counterrevolutionary nationalist party] members and by the Dashnaktsutyun [Armenian nationalist party] members belonging to Tevan Stepanyan's Mauser riflemen. With them were Turkish officers and Denikin's officers. They were a "black international" in which nationalists of all stripes spoke in surprising harmony the common language of hatred for the worker-peasant power.

In July 1920 the Musavat and Dashnaktsutyun members mounted a joint rebellion against Soviet power. All members of the Karabakh revolutionary committee—Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Georgians and Russians—were thrown into prison in Shusha. The international peasant people's militia rose against the counterrevolution and units of the 11th Red Army of Army Commander M. Levandovskiy came to their assistance. The defeat of the nationalists was led by staunch Bolsheviks—the Armenian L. Mirzoyan, the Azerbaijani D. Buniatzade, and the Kurd Ch. Ildrym. It is a pity that today's young people have no memory of these events with their many glorious names. They do not know what trials were withstood by the friendship of the Azerbaijani and Armenian peoples, tempered in the struggle for Soviet power.

Today it is accepted as something that goes without saying that during the years of Soviet power the autonomous oblast has achieved substantial successes. Only what successes? The majority of interlocutors shrug: What does it matter? It matters. You only have to note where these successes began. With a wooden plow. With three handicraft workshops. "There are 60 households, 1 barracks, 1 priest, and 1 bell-ringer," was the boring entry in the old geographical guide about the population of Khankendi, which was to become today's Stepanakert. There was that, there was! But there was also something else—the tireless industry of the Armenian and Azerbaijani peasants, the aid and support of all Soviet peoples. And that is also something which we should all consider today. Not only from national positions—from the only correct class positions.

There is much which cannot be understood otherwise. For instance, who erected in the mountains the Sarsanskoye reservoir, which has collected 580 million cubic meters of water and for the third 5-year plan in succession has been irrigating the fields of mountainous and lowland Karabakh? Or how has the volume of industrial production more than trebled in the past 3 5-year plans while agricultural production output has increased 50 percent? No one will dispute that there has been an increase in the oblast's participation in the republican and all-union division of labor, that integration processes are developing actively, that there has been an improvement in the population's provision with housing, hospitals, libraries, and clubs. Or that in terms of other indicators the NKAO outstrips as a whole both Azerbaijan and Armenia.

It would be wrong to fail to consider this. But, on the other hand, how are we to proceed along the road of restructuring and democratization unless we notice the urgent problems which have accumulated over the years of stagnation? In Karabakh people have begun to talk about them out loud: about the disruptions in capital and housing construction and in the solution of social questions and cultural, ethnic, and production tasks.

In brief, there are enough issues. Serious, businesslike, long-term issues according with the very spirit of restructuring. But of course not the issues invoked 13 February at their first meeting in Stepanakert by the tens of thousands of demonstrators demanding that the NKAO be annexed to the Armenian SSR. This demand was supported at a session of the oblast Soviet of People's Deputies.

You could sense in everything the painstaking preparation of the demonstrations, the strong hand of the now disbanded unauthorized "Krunk" ("Crane") committee, whose very name as it were symbolized yearning for the motherland. As though this motherland were not here in Karabakh, with its roads and country churches and land sprinkled with sweat.

The country knows about a lot today. It knows about the strikes, the ultimatums, the attempts to pressure state organs by force, it knows about the speculation in glasnost and democratization, it knows about the Sumgait tragedy. It knows how the USSR Prosecutor's Office organs have arrested the murderers, looters, and rapists. It knows, it is convinced, that not a single scoundrel will escape the stern retribution of the law. It knows that the people who kindled nationalist hysteria are now being revealed. But that is not enough. We must ascertain to whose advantage it was.

To answer this question it is worth extending a thread in time from the "black international," from the Musavat and Dashnaktsutyun members and the White Guards of the twenties, to their spiritual heirs. At the height of the events in Nagorno-Karabakh a broadcast from the anti-Soviet Radio Liberty entrusted their commentary to two ideological "brothers"—Eduard Oganesyan, chief editor of Radio Liberty's Armenian editorial office, and Mirza Khazaru, chief editor of the Azerbaijani office. They found a common language with surprising speed, seeing in the demonstrations "the masses' dissatisfaction with the existing system." An act of provocation? Of course. Yet it cannot be said that it was unsuccessful. And in this gloomy fact there is also food for thought.

It is quite impossible to believe what went unnoticed in those alarming days and nights but has now suddenly acquired importance: As though according to a timetable kolkhoz vehicles took peasants from the livestock units and fields to the demonstrations. But surely the demonstrators' demands did not rule out a matter to which the peasants have given their hands and souls down the centuries? And what about the hungry cows, unmilked and tired of mooing—were they guilty of anything? The cold feed ovens and steaming plants. The cars which had not been unloaded, with their food for the people, feed for the livestock, fertilizers for the fields, and spare parts for tractors and combines...

Were the peasants' hearts not pained? Of course they were! But the directives of the so-called "55 committee" which headed "Krunk" were harsh: Go to the demonstration and let everything burn... "I knew it would not end well," one man says today. "I was tired, I was exhausted, but how can you go against your own people?" another sighs. "To be honest, I was a coward," says the anguish in another's eyes.

That is not the peasant way.

Now that a real consideration of what has happened is taking place, many rural inhabitants have been literally shaken by the depressing evidence. By 16 March meat procurements had dropped 14 percent, milk procurements 11 percent, and egg procurements 17 percent compared with the previous year in the oblast. Milk yields and weight gains and the average delivery weight of livestock had declined sharply. Farms' revenue from the sale of livestock products had dropped by over R450,000 in 6 weeks. There was a R800,000 shortfall in the production of marketable produce. The forfeited thousands of rubles accumulated into lost millions. But here is a characteristic detail. Over 320,000 tonnes of whole milk were delivered from the republic's Agdamskiy and Fizulinskiy Rayons to the Stepanakert milk combine to overcome the lag.

But that is an isolated instance. If we are speaking in broad terms, the party and the Soviet Government have, as promised, embarked vigorously on the solution of the complex problems of the NKAO. On 29 March the republican press published the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution "On Measures To Accelerate the Socioeconomic Development of the Azerbaijan SSR's Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast in 1988-1995." This important party document based on the principles of Lenin's nationalities policy provides for a 40 percent increase in the volumes of housing construction so that by the year 2000 each family will have a separate apartment or house. It is planned to construct 9-10 schools, a culture center in Stepanakert, a hospital with a polyclinic, a Young Pioneer center, a city library, and other social projects. The resolution provides for the expansion, modernization, and retooling of existing enterprises and the construction of over 10 branches in the oblast. In addition 14 capacities will be created for the production of cheese, meat, sausages, and canned food.

To improve water supplies to Stepanakert and the rayon centers of Nagorno-Karabakh two large reservoirs will be constructed, the area of irrigated land will increase by nearly 6,000 hectares, and the dimensions of water resources construction will be enlarged: There are 64 population centers and almost all will receive a water pipeline. There will be a 50 percent increase in the volumes of highway construction and all cities and settlements will receive gas supplies. Up to R400 million have been earmarked for these important measures.

In view of the wishes of the oblast's Armenian population the resolution envisages providing cities and rayons of Nagorno-Karabakh and the lowland rayons with steady and high-quality reception of three television programs: the all-union, Azerbaijani, and Armenian programs. It is planned to carry out work on the restoration and repair of monuments of history and culture and to expand the printing plant base to increase the production of fiction and textbooks in Armenian. In brief, in the language of figures and specific provisions, the program has sharply delineated the watershed between the demagoguery of the "Krunk" leaders and the real concern of the party and state for the people's vitally important interests.

Here I shall permit myself to express what many people are thinking. Whereas under the conditions of expanding democracy and the implementation of radical economic reforms the republic and oblast are still faced with a dash forward; in international education it is important to assess carefully our past gains as well. In particular it is very appropriate to return once again in our memories to Lenin's historic letter "To the Communist Comrades of Azerbaijan, Georgia, Armenia, Dagestan, and the Gorskaya Republic." Written in 1921, the letter is, in its entire structure and thinking, directed to our day. The letter sets forth the tasks of the struggle for consolidating national peace and the friendship of the peoples, developing industry, and resurrecting agriculture, irrigation, and electrification. Another thing—it contains a wise appeal for greater gentleness, caution, and pliancy with regard to the working peasantry and intelligentsia of every nationality.

The program elaborated by the CPSU Central Committee and Soviet Government, which has met with the approval of the Communists and working people of Azerbaijan and Nagorno-Karabakh, provides a vast and wide embodiment of this wise advice from Ilich. But we must not think that everything will come of its own accord. Aid is coming in from the entire country, but how to resolve the complex problems more rapidly is a matter primarily for all workers and all citizens of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Armenian Academic Discusses Yerevan Events

PM051349 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 2 Apr 88 Second Edition p 3

[Interview with Academician G.B. Garibdzhanyan of the Armenian SSR Academy of Science by special correspondent A. Chernenko in Yerevan on 1 April 1988: "What Actually Happened? Reflections on Events in Yerevan"—first paragraph is PRAVDA introduction]

[Text] Yerevan—My conversation with Academician Gevorg Bagratovich Garibdzhanyan of the Armenian SSR Academy of Sciences yesterday was lengthy. It was an inevitable conversation, since recent events in Yerevan require serious, sober, and honest interpretation. Of course, there are as many opinions as there are people. But I will take the liberty of summing up in a single question the questions asked by peasants from the Bagramyan settlement, workers from Yerevan's electric lamp plant, and university students. To what extent do the events which unfolded in Yerevan's Opera Square fit in with the processes of restructuring? The rallies attended by thousands of people, the temperamental polemics through loudspeakers... Leaflets, addresses, open letters to state and party leaders... Let's be frank: This is the first time we have come across this phenomenon on such a scale, and there is a natural need to understand it.

[Chernenko] Gevorg Bagratovich, in my view the sincerity of some people is as incontestable as the desire of others to make political capital out of the wave of emotions. And some people have simply lost their bearings.

[Garibdzhanyan] I support the idea of some people's sincerity and other people's confusion and political disorientation....

There is a branch of science called social psychology. Events in Yerevan, for instance, are a classic example of how people driven by perfectly different motivations can be brought side by side by a common idea. In this case, the difficult problem of the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast. The individual personal primary cause recedes into the background and people are cemented together by a common impulse. The most valuable thing here is a sensible word spoken at the right time. It was no accident that the address by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, immediately evoked a response in people's hearts and minds. As for the series of biased newspaper articles, in both the central and the local press, it only evoked irritation and fired emotions. After all, people should have gained a better understanding of events, and only then have assessed them.

[Chernenko] Were the articles in any way insulting from the viewpoint of national relations?

[Garibdzhanyan] No, I am talking about something else. The overwhelming mass of people believed that everything they were doing was in the spirit of restructuring. The forms may have been unusual, but a discussion was going on. And in response—they got the same old labels....

[Chernenko] I have to take issue with you on this. These "same old labels," as you call them, were applied only to a certain section of people. Bear with me, and we will come back to them. But for now I would like to express this viewpoint. I agree that restructuring and glasnost are impossible without discussion. But dropping tools and abandoning shops and plants—what is that? Is that an element of discussion? A polemic? Demonstrating one's viewpoint is one thing, but measures involving the undermining of plan and production discipline are something else entirely.... Frankly speaking, I cannot envision any such "form of discussion" within the framework of restructuring.

[Garibdzhanyan] Glasnost is a great asset of ours. But I do agree with you: Its purpose is not to shout at the top of your voice anything that comes to mind, but to enable you to speak, to persuade, to uphold your viewpoint and the truth. I also agree on another point: Dropping tools, deserting lecture halls, abandoning fields—all this is far removed from polemics in the spirit of restructuring. But we often say that so far we are merely learning democracy. And mistakes are inevitable.

[Chernenko] But what is the cost of these mistakes?

[Garibdzhanyan] It is huge. Because the main thing that could have happened in the square was a discrediting of the ideas of restructuring and glasnost. The ideas of the renewal of our society. And Yerevan's workers realized this clearly: Nobody responded to the "appeals" on 26 March, the day designated in the anonymous leaflets. Healthy class instincts operated. By then it had become clear to any working or creative person that sincere impulses were being silently, unobtrusively, but persistently harnessed by people who are, as we say, immature....

[Chernenko] I am going to be much more clear cut in my formulation: Political careerists and adventurists. From among those who suggested that Armenia be made a "nonparty republic" and so on.

[Garibdzhanyan] Precisely. In general, I am convinced that glasnost and democratization are a most powerful weapon, but one that needs to be handled with exceptional caution. In some hands it means a struggle for truth, in others it is a means to attain ambitious goals. The question is: Who is better trained? Frankly speaking, sincere and honest people, people who get carried away, are unskilled at handling it today. And once the weapon falls out of their hands, it can easily be picked up by tricksters of various hues. Take the question of ensuring order in Opera Square. Some people believe that they deserve all the credit for it. But what about people's self-consciousness, does that count for nothing? And why should a handful of individuals take credit for the fact that hospitals worked, that aircraft flew on schedule, that filling stations operated, and that buses covered their routes?

[Chernenko] Since we are on the subject of maintaining order, I would like to raise a question which still seems to be taboo in many people's minds. I am talking about the MVD subunits which arrived in Yerevan to ensure order. The militia concentrated its forces in the city during this period. Military patrols also covered the streets of Yerevan for several nights. What would say about this?

[Garibdzhanyan] First of all, let me remind you that I am a former frontline soldier. I have seen and experienced all kinds of things. And I know that such a crowd of people within a limited space is fraught with more surprises than a layman might imagine. Let me call things by their proper names. Was there a chance of provocations during this period? Without a doubt. I don't want to make any secret of my opinion that the provocateurs are a reality. Frankly speaking, I slept peacefully knowing that our soldiers were in the city. Let me emphasize—ours...

[Chernenko] In other words, when we have taken many liberties during this period, we must not deny the state's right to take these precautionary measures?

[Garibdzhanyan] Let's go further than that, let's ask ourselves: What happened? Was anyone arrested? Were guns fired in the streets? Were general searches carried out? No citizen of Yerevan can cite a single insulting incident in this regard. Moreover, the guys in uniform were presented with carnations by the girls and cigarettes by the boys. During the hot weather they were given lemonade and cookies—you must have seen this for yourself. And what else could you expect, this is our own army, the Soviet Army. And anyone who wanted to understand this did understand it. Incidentally, I was told by our famous compatriot Marshal Bagramyan how proud he was to have served in the Soviet Army. I believe that the process of democratization ought also to include an element of guaranteed order.

[Chernenko] Frankly speaking, when I asked this question I assumed that you would try to avoid answering.

[Garibdzhanyan] Why should I?

[Chernenko] Some representatives of the Armenian intelligentsia with whom I have spoken perceived these measures as—in the formula of one venerable writer—"a slap in the face." As a matter of fact, are you not afraid that someone might accuse you of making a snap judgment on the situation?

[Garibdzhanyan] I am an Armenian, and I will make no secret of the fact that my heart still grieves for the tragedy in Sumgait. My heart also grieves for my compatriots from Nagorno-Karabakh. The remains of my father, who died for Soviet power, lie buried in the ancient soil of Yerevan. A pretty Armenian village bears his name. I have personally experienced the hardships of frontline fighting... Surely I am entitled to be trusted, I am entitled to have my say? In my view, in general the Armenian intelligentsia has really underestimated its colossal spiritual role in restructuring. I won't make a secret of it, I am proud of the sincerity and openness with which it has raised many pressing problems during this period. But raising the problem is only half the work. Sober assessments, constructive options for solving it, the creation of models which must be tested not just once, twice, or even five times before the best option is determined—this is the main feature of restructuring. And this was not done. I would say the same about myself, too. The complexity of the restructuring process lies in the fact that, in conditions of broad glasnost, it cannot tolerate proposals which lead to dead ends.

[Chernenko] Gevorg Bagratovich, outwardly there is nothing in Yerevan today to recall recent events. One hundred percent of enterprises, educational establishments, and social and consumer services are operating, and operating at a good pace. I am not talking about the countryside at all—there was no interruption of the perennial cycle of peasants' work.... I would like to ask a blunt question in this context. I hope to receive a blunt and sincere answer. This outward calm—to what extent is it, in your opinion, a reflection of the spiritual state of ordinary citizens of Yerevan? Of course, I don't mean those for whom the "process of ferment" is a goal in itself or those who tried to play a dubious political game. There are not all that many of them, in any case. I mean primarily those who lost their bearings for a moment, believing that they were participating in events that were a vital part of the spirit of restructuring. Have these people not lost faith in the truth and reality of restructuring? Will this not have an effect on their social activeness?

[Garibdzhanyan] A complex question. No, I would venture to claim that people in Yerevan have not lost but have rather gained faith in restructuring, which has for the first time provided an opportunity to speak out openly, without fear. But they are now reflecting.

[Chernenko] On what?

[Garibdzhanyan] A lot. For instance, how come certain people tried to exploit their sincerity and openness. These ordinary people, who have honored Griboyedov's name since childhood and absorbed sacred love for Russia with their mothers' milk, suddenly found themselves playthings in other people's hands. Ordinary citizens of Yerevan are also reflecting on the actual meaning of the new social thinking.

[Chernenko] Yourself included?

[Garibdzhanyan] Without a shadow of doubt. To be perfectly frank, I feel very upset that this mighty emotional impulse based precisely on the guarantee given to us by restructuring did not work in restructuring's favor. Just think—how many of the city's and the republic's most acute problems could be resolved like this, together, acting as one! Therefore, we must certainly learn lessons from our experiences. Primarily as regards the restructuring of party ideological work. It is, after all, no secret that there were quite a few party members among those who assembled in Opera Square. Well, it is necessary to learn to live in the new fashion. Restructuring does not brook political dilettantism.

[Chernenko] But there are not all that many dilettantes among that section of the intelligentsia of which we have already spoken; they are famous people who have written well-known literary and scientific works....

[Garibdzhanyan] It is all a question of numbers.... Incidentally, I have postponed one of my articles on internationalism for a while. Here's the situation: I've published about 60 books, including books on the intelligentsia's role in international education, but suddenly I realized more acutely than ever before that sugary phrases about friendship are more terrible than keeping silent about it....

[Chernenko] Rumors are the inevitable companions of such unusual events. They are now being extremely actively circulated by the Western "voices" and by word of mouth. The prevailing theme is that the real situation in Yerevan is being hushed up, that people are "afraid of what has been done," and that repressions are only a step away. And that apparently the republic Communist Party Central Committee building is chockablock with staffers of the special services....

[Garibdzhanyan] All this is absurd and downright lies. I testify: Yerevan is living the most ordinary and measured life. And as for repressions... My family also bears the imprint of the tragedy of 1937. My own grandfather, an unbending Bolshevik, was sentenced in those years.... Some members of the family did not have it easy in the early fifties, either. This is why thoughts and conversations in our family naturally and certainly inevitably turn to these sorrowful pages of its history. But as a Marxist historian I assert that there are no grounds—whether political, economic, or social—for such fabrications. Anyone who thinks differently cannot have understood the very essence of restructuring.... I am profoundly convinced that the republic's Communists will be able, in a Leninist fashion, to analyze what actually happened there in Opera Square. I am talking about fundamental social problems. Demographic problems, ecological problems, problems of social justice. It was not just people who assembled in the square, it was an assembly of hundreds of questions which were not properly answered in the past by, say, some raykom secretary, plant director, shop foreman, or leader of a rayon social security service... In short, by those who had failed to satisfy people's needs, to relieve someone's pain. Yet were supposed to do so....

Tajikistan Oblasts, Town To be Merged

LD051439 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1330 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] The implementation of a general scheme for the management of Tajikistan's national economy—confirmed in recent days by a session of the republic's Supreme Soviet—has begun. Its main goals are a democratization of management and the successful implementation of radical economic reform. A large number of ministries and administrations are being cut. The Kulyab and Kurgan-Tyube Oblasts are being merged, along with the town of Nurek.

The switch to the new general scheme is being made during this year. The upshot is that more than 6,000 people are being released from work. Specific steps are being adopted to supply them with work and to retrain cadres. The improvement in management will have a positive effect on the increase in the efficiency of social production.

Turkmenia's Khodzhamuradov on Management Reform

LD061118 Moscow TASS in English 1106 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Ashkhabad April 6 TASS—The staffs of higher management agencies in Turkmenia will be halved as a plan is realized to streamline the system of running the economy in this Soviet Central Asian republic.

The plan has been published for popular discussion in keeping with the spirit of glasnost in the Soviet Union whereby important social and economic decisions are made with account of public opinion.

The management system is being revamped in other Soviet central Asian republics, Uzbekistan and Kirghizia, as well.

Commenting on the plan, Annamurad Khodzhamuradov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Turkmenia, said it will make it possible to eliminate parallelism in the activities of republican agencies.

It has been decided to close 16 ministries and agencies and precisely delimit the functions of local management bodies.

The 5,000 executives to be laid off will be provided with new employment. A total of 250 people, for example, lost their jobs when a gas field construction trust was closed, but none of them was left unemployed as all of them were retrained for jobs in industry and elsewhere.

The choice of vacancies is fairly large: workers are needed in some 70 trades in Turkmenia today. There are many jobs available in the services, for example.

Khodzhamuradov said employment bureaus set up in every administrative district will help put up displaced personnel with new jobs.

14 Latvian Ministries Closed; 2 Created

LD051319 Moscow TASS in English 1221 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Riga April 5 TASS—By TASS correspondent Igor Kovalenko:

Fourteen government ministers of Soviet Latvia are today looking for jobs, since their ministries are to be closed. Now the republic will have only 33 ministries. But even in the latter the personnel is reduced on an average by a third, and in the departments in charge of production branches—even by a half. A change in the structure of the administration and the management is now being carried out in all the fifteen Soviet union republics.

The whole industry of Latvia, which was in the past managed by five ministries, will be from now on headed by a single state committee for industry. Three previously independent building industries are being merged into a single building committee. Excessive division into sections and disunity in the work of the administrative bodies in charge of the energy resources, of various types of educational establishments, cultural institutions and transport is being eliminated.

The departments responsible for services for the population (health protection, trade, consumer services, municipal ecoconomy and communication) are preserved, but a structural change is under way in them to make them more effective in resolving the society's social problems.

The new pattern of administration is designed to consolidate transition from administrative to economic methods of economic management, create the best conditions for the development of production and public services, Yuriy Ruben, chairman of Latvia's Council of Ministers told the TASS correspondent. The pattern is changed not only for the sake of a reduction of personnel. Thus two state committees have been additionally set up: for the protection of nature and technology and informatics.

Most of the questions which were decided at the upper echelons of the administration will be now decided by the local bodies and personnel of plants and factories, which have received, on the basis of the law of the state enterprise the right to decide their matters independently and form their profit depending on their own ingenuity and the effectiveness of operation.

Ligachev Tours Cultural Equipment Exhibition

LD021926 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 2 Apr 88

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee February 1988 Plenum examined issues in providing ideological support for the policy of restructuring and in bringing up and educating the rising generation and all working people. Measures to strengthen and develop the material base of culture and art are being implemented in the country; the principle of residual funding is being overcome in the social and cultural sphere; and widespread construction of cultural facilities is being carried out.

On 2 April Comrades Ligachev and Talyzin visited an exhibition of equipment and technical resources for theaters, clubs, libraries, and other cultural establishments, organized at the Soviet Culture pavilion at the Exhibition of the Achievements of the USSR National Economy.

The work of central and local bodies and a number of industrial ministries and enterprises on these matters was subjected to critical analysis. It was noted that the level of provision of modern equipment and technical resources for cultural and art establishments is poor. Establishments which provide entertainment are badly provided with stage equipment, sound and light facilities, musical instruments, bookshelves, museum display cases, and comfortable furnishings. Most of the things that are manufactured fail to meet present-day requirements as far as their technical qualities are concerned.

The conference that took place was addressed by USSR Culture Minister Comrade Zakharov; RSFSR Culture Minister, Comrade Melentyev; Comrade Morozov, first deputy minister of the USSR automotive Industry; Comrade Pervyshin, minister of the USSR communications equipment industry; and Comrade Volskiy, head of the machine-building department of the CPSU Central Committee.

Comrade Ligachev noted that the planning bodies and the ministries must first of all change their attitude of regarding equipment for cultural and art establishments as something of secondary importance. This is a serious question. It is directly linked with the vital interests of Soviet people, their spiritual development, and the organization of their recreation. It is essential to create modern facilities for the production of high-quality equipment for cultural and art establishments and to set about the technical refurbishment of enterprises that manufacture it. Creative organizations ought to be involved in devising and accepting tools and equipment.

Ligachev, Others Attend Folk Art Conference

Shalayev, Zakharov Speak

LD051656 Moscow TASS in English 1413 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—Socialist culture's principle of mass participation promotes society's progress. This idea keynoted the all-union conference held in Moscow on April 4-5. The conference was devoted to the development of mass amateur art activities in conditions of perestroyka.

Members of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, secretaries of the CPSU Central Committee Yegor Ligachev, Aleksandr Yakovlev, other leaders of the party, state, public organizations took part in the conference.

Delivering a report, chairman of the Central Council of Soviet Trade Unions Stepan Shalayev noted great importance of cultural development for the improvement of spiritual and moral atmosphere of Soviet society. He said a thought should be given to transforming the state programme of aesthetic education of the population being intensively worked out now, into a social-and-state programme of aesthetic education of the population and development of mass creative work. In such a form this programme would fuller suit the aims of renewal of the entire cultural life of the country.

A characteristic feature of the present-day stage of the development of mass amateur art is the interest of various sections of the population in folklore, national motifs in songs, dances, music, the speaker went on. This is easy to explain since perestroyka, renewal of society give a strong impetus to civic and national selfawareness, and make people turn to what has a truly folk nature. This is a healthy reaction of socialist society to an epidemic of spurious mass culture of the West.

USSR Minister of Culture Vasiliy Zakharov who then took the floor touched upon questions of the preparation for the third all-union festival of mass amateur art. He said a new spirit cannot be imparted to the festival without its further democratisation. He said it would be better if the organizing committees, working groups and sections of the forum include people who are not a very experienced managers but are true enthusiasts of amateur art activities. Having the knowledge of local traditions and cultural interests of the population and taking them into consideration they will be able to find the road toward creating the most favourable conditions for the development of talents among the people.

First secretary of the Central Committee of the Lenin Young Communist League (YCL) Viktor Mironenko emphasized in his speech the need to create conditions for the manifestation of a natural interest of youth in creative work. This is not only a cultural problem, but a fundamental question of the country's future, he said.

Member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Yegor Ligachev addressed the conference.

Ligachev Address Noted

LD042006 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 4 Apr 88

[Text] An all-union conference, which opened in the Hall of Columns of the House of the Union today, deals with folk arts. In the Presidium are Comrades Ligachev, Yakovlev, Talyzin, heads of a number of ministries and departments, prominent cultural personalities and representatives of party, local soviet and public organizations. Those taking part are discussing the report by Comrade Shalayev, chairman of the AUCCTU.

Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, spoke at the conference. He said, in part:

[Begin Ligachev recording] In the current development of amateur folk arts, the present and days gone by come together, fuse, and present bright new facets of the traditional and the modern. Nevertheless, comrades, quite a bit of material for criticism and self-criticism has accumulated, as they say, in this sphere of social life. There are more than enough omissions and quite enough unresolved problems.

As you know, the decisions of the 27th party congress and our party program stress the policy of developing in all possible ways the creative ability of the people, enriching the socialist way of life and cultivating among working people healthy needs and lofty aesthetic tastes. Hence, folk arts vitally linked with traditions, even in grey old age should without fail keep pace with the times and take account of the most progressive questions and concepts and all the conditions of modern life. As the saying goes, traditions are not the ashes, but keep the fire going.

It must be admitted that as yet we do not really know how to inculcate artistic sensibility in young people, or in so doing how to unite the traditional and the modern, the classical and the innovative into a precious fusion of the culture of the fatherland. This state of affairs is giving rise to a great deal of concern, as speakers here have stated. Our entire society is sounding the alarm. Reports are coming from a number of places that centuries-old crafts are dying; folk music and songs are falling silent in towns and villages; and in some places the clubs are empty.

Perhaps something new and more worthy has come to replace these? Indeed, often a new form of organizing leisure does emerge in some places. But unfortunately, in many cases classical folk arts and amateur creativity have given way to sorts of mass entertainment which are far from being the richest in content, especially among young people. The trend for an extraordinary din that drowns out all melody, and for dances which bring the performers into a state of frenzy does indeed exist—that is a fact. It exists all over the world: reciprocal percolation and mutual influences make themselves felt here, too.

In connection with what we are saying, it is becoming a matter of particular urgency that in these circumstances, enhanced attention must be paid to preserving the uniqueness of folk arts and socialist culture as a whole. And it is quite right that the matter should be thus formulated at our conference, comrades. Folk arts should be regarded as a vital source, communicating strength and purity to everything which derives from it, right up to the heights of professional art. [end recording]

Razumovskiy Talks With Top Komosmol Officials

PM050919 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1 Apr 88 p 1

[Unattributed report under the "At the Komsomol Central Committee" rubric: "Komsomol Work Meeting the Demands of Restructuring"]

[Text] A meeting took place between G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and Komsomol Central Committee Bureau secretaries and members, first secretaries of union republic Komsomol Central Committees, and Komsomol kraykoms and obkoms. They discussed questions of implementing the decisions of the 20th Komsomol Congress, stepping up the role of Komsomol organizations in developing young people's initiative and democratizing union work, the influence of Komsomol committees on all aspects of young people's life, labor, and leisure, and preparations for the 19th all-union party conference.

CPSU Resolution on Services in Norilsk Viewed

PM051352 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 31 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "At the CPSU Central Committee"]

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a resolution "On the Experience of the Work of Norilsk Party Gorkom and the Administration of the Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Combine in Implementing the 27th CPSU Congress Instructions Aimed at Providing Services to the Working People."

The resolution notes that Norilsk party gorkom, the gorispolkom, party and trade union organizations, and the administration of the Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Combine, fulfilling the decisions of the 27th party congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums, have achieved a significant improvement in the provision of services to the working people. In the last 2 years the total volume of services in the Norilsk industrial region has increased by 18 percent, totaling R313 per inhabitant in 1987, which is almost twice the union-wide average.

The results achieved were secured to a decisive degree through the purposeful party political and organizational work of Norilsk party gorkom. Questions of meeting the population's needs for paid services are studied at plenums and bureau meetings and form an important component of the rayon's socioeconomic development program. In choosing avenues for the development of the service sphere and the system of work at consumer services enterprises, the CPSU gorkom and the gorispolkom draw on the working people's opinion, and surveys are carried out systematically to discover the population's demand for services. Many services are offered to the people of Norilsk on the basis of cooperation among various enterprises.

The CPSU Central Committee emphasized the fact that one-third of all the services offered to the inhabitants of the Norilsk industrial region are accounted for by the mining and metallurgical combine. Paramount attention is devoted at the combine to the development of those types of services for which there is the greatest unsatisfied demand. With a view to eliminating the shortage of repair and construction services, a specialized construction administration, "Norilskremstroyusluga," was set up in 1987 within the combine. This subunit was reinforced with leading cadres, skilled workers, and specialists and provided with lifting and transport machinery and joinery and mechanical workshops. Centers were opened for taking orders for paid repair and refurbishment of apartments, where the necessary advice is given; samples of available furnishing materials, hygienic equipment, and built-in furniture are on display; and various designs for the interior of redecorated apartments are available.

Specialized subunits at the combine also offer working people services for the maintenance of individual transport and laundry services. A wide range of services in conditions of the utmost comfort are available to those who visit the combine's bathhouse. A purposeful quest for reserves for increasing the volume of services is carried out by housing operation offices, departmental sanatorium and resort institutions, and palaces and institutes of culture. At the combine's sports facilities paid subscription services have been introduced for instruction in swimming, general physical training, and gymnastics, and the leasing of sports equipment has been organized.

A procedure is in operation at the combine whereby plans for services are allocated to all the plants, factories, and mines. They carry out repair work and freight shipments for their own workers and sell them construction and other materials. The shops have been equipped with 70 sports halls with training equipment and saunas with pools, where, in addition to the traditional free services, workers and their families can receive, for payment, consultations with specialists, massages, lessons in therapeutic gymnastics, and a number of other services.

The mining and metallurgical combine collaborates closely with the city consumer services combine of the RSFSR Ministry of Consumer Services, which has received more than R10 million in capital investments for the development of its material and technical base in the last 7 years. Comprehensive reception centers or consumer services institutes have been set up at the majority of enterprises with a view to bringing consumer services to the workplaces.

The CPSU Central Committee expressed support for the practice that has grown up at the combine whereby workers servicing the population are provided, on an equal basis with the metallurgists and miners, with houses, places in children's institutions, and passes to leisure areas.

It was noted that the party gorkom, the gorispolkom, and the administration of the mining and metallurgical combine, alongside the development of paid services, are doing major work to provide the population with housing and food, improve trade and public catering, and improve medical services.

The successful resolution of social tasks in the Norilsk industrial region creates favorable conditions for highly productive labor. The combine has fulfilled the food program for the first 2 years of the 5-year plan. Deliveries of nonferrous metals to consumers have been carried out in full, in accordance with the contracts concluded. Labor productivity in 1987 increased by 9.6 percent with an increase of 6.6 percent in average wages. Cadre turnover at the combine fell by one-third over the 2 years, and was 6 percent last year.

At the same time, the resolution notes, the Norilsk party gorkom and gorispolkom have not ensured the active participation of all enterprises in the industrial region in the development of paid services. This work is done only poorly by the collectives of the aircraft enterprise and the construction organizations of the USSR Ministry of Installation and Special Construction Work based in the region. Shortcomings in transport services to the population are being eradicated only slowly.

While assessing positively, on the whole, the work experience of Norilsk party gorkom, the gorispolkom, and the administration and public organizations of the Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Combine in developing paid services, the CPSU Central Committee proposed that more active use be made of the reserves available in the Norilsk industrial region for further increasing the volume and expanding the range of services and improving the quality and standard of services with a view to achieving, in the current 5-year plan, the full satisfaction of the working people's requirements for the main types of services: repair and construction, transport, motor vehicle and technical servicing, laundry, dry cleaning, and hire services, and also services connected with the meaningful and active use of leisure time and with strengthening and improving health.

The CPSU Central Committee pointed to the impermissibility of the continuing underestimation by many party committees, union republic councils of ministers, local soviet ispolkoms, ministries, and departments of the importance and socioeconomic significance of the service sphere. It was noted that nine union republics and the majority of USSR ministries and departments failed to cope with the 1987 plan. A particularly large lag in relation to the targets set occurred at the USSR Ministry of Power and Electrification, the USSR Ministry of the Machine Tool and Tool Building Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Electrical Equipment Industry, the USSR Ministry of the Gas Industry, the USSR Ministry of Chemical and Petroleum Machine Building, and the USSR Ministry of Machine Building for Livestock Raising and Feed Production.

The resolution instructs the party and soviet organs of union republics, krays and oblasts, and USSR ministries and departments to concentrate the efforts of enterprise leaders, councils of labor collectives, and party and trade union organizations on the implementation of practical measures toward the accelerated development of the sphere of paid services. It was stressed that this work should be regarded as an urgent task of the restructuring and an important factor in increasing the people's well-being.

The AUCCTU and sector central committees of the trade unions are instructed, in conjunction with ministries and departments, to step up their influence on the resolution of questions connected with providing the working people with services, and in this connection to do everything to promote the spread of the Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Combine's experience.

The mass media are instructed to devote more attention to press, radio, and television coverage of questions of the sphere of paid services and to actively propagandize the positive experience of the Norilsk Mining and Metallurgical Combine and other enterprises.

Khomich Released as Ukrainian Deputy Premier

LD060936 Kiev Domestic Service in Ukrainian
0515 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] The Supreme Soviet Presidium of the Ukrainian SSR has released Comrade Khomich from the duties of deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Ukrainian SSR in connection with his retirement on pension owing to the state of his health.

Isayev Appointed Forestry Committee Chairman

LD010643 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2000 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] The Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet has appointed Aleksandr Sergeyevich Isayev chairman of the country's State Committee for Forestry. The new minister is an academician, and not honorary but an acting one. He is 57. Aleksandr Sergeyevich calls forests the meaning of his life.

CPSU Prepares for 19th Party Conference

Reader Urges Maximum Term

PM311507 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 26 Mar 88 p 7

[Letter from G. Kotovshchikov under the rubric "The Reader Proposes, Protests, and Polemicizes": "From Declarations to Guarantees"]

[Text] The problem of guaranteeing the irreversibility of the renewal of all spheres of society's life which has begun in the country should now be given priority because only complete confidence that there will be no return to the past will free us from fear of the consequences of expressing our opinion and liberate the people's intellectual and physical energies, which have lain dormant for decades.

Undoubtedly we do have certain guarantees today. By the will of the party and with the support of the majority of the people, glasnost is expanding, democracy is deepening, and transformations are taking place in the economic sphere. But is that enough to ensure that at any given moment we will not take a step backward, as happened in the second half of the sixties? Why is there still a sense of anxiety about the fate of restructuring?

The whole point clearly is that the factors cited above which consolidate restructuring at the present stage need safeguards. To ensure the irreversibility of restructuring there must be stable, long-term, and legally based guarantees.

In this connection I think that the more dynamic development of society would be promoted by a switch from declarations to the enshrinement in legislation and regulations of a clear system for replacing the leadership of party and state apparatuses.

Under the existing situation the call to abolish "zones beyond criticism" remains a fond hope. Without a reliable and implacable mechanism for replacement independent of the will of those at the top and the bottom, those "zones" can only be criticized after their downfall. But, as they used to say in Ancient Rome, a collapsed column is always easier to measure. It is not enough to proclaim that there should be no "zones beyond criticism" in our country; it is necessary to create the appropriate conditions to achieve that. If we only show courage with hindsight, we shall always be left trailing in the wake of events.

All this prompts the thought that there has long been an urgent need, in view of the historical and present-day experience of developing the state and its system of administration, to establish a faultless mechanism of replacement, that is, to set a definite time limit on the holding of an elected post. After all, it is absolutely obvious that the existence of such a mechanism will actually promote the development of criticism and self-criticism and help to eradicate such phenomena as deference to rank and workers' dependence on their leader. At the same time, periodic replacement provides scope for fresh talents and ensures the involvement of a larger number of people in the management of state affairs. It is also important to note that on the one hand this system of replacement will not denigrate an honored leader and will not give him cause to feel insulted when his turn comes around (the law is the law, after all) and on the other hand it will create a safeguard against recurrences of the personality cult and will ensure society's onward development.

I propose that the question of elaborating a clear procedure for replacing leading workers of state and party organs be submitted for discussion at the 19th all-union party conference.

G. Kotovshchikov, born 1953, worker in internal affairs organs and party member since 1987, Irkutsk.

History Reviewed

PM311325 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 2

[Candidate of Historical Sciences E. Guseynov article: "Party Conferences—From the 1st to the 19th"—first two paragraphs are reader's letter]

[Text] "The 19th party conference is to be held in June this year. We are impatiently looking forward to this event. However, what is surprising is this: Why was it decided to convene a conference, exactly? The last conference was almost half a century ago, in 1941. I would like to know in a bit more detail about the history of conferences and the kind of questions they discussed. I think other readers would also be interested in this."

A. Sviridenko, Kharkov.

The editorial office has received many letters containing similar requests. Readers' interest is perfectly natural—the expectations pinned on the upcoming conference are very great. Today we will describe the history of party conferences, the role they played in the party's life, and the reasons why the practice of holding them is being revived after so many years.

December 1905. The small Finnish town of Tammerfors. On 12 December there, in one of the centers of the Finnish workers' movement, delegates assembled for the Fourth RSDWP [Russian Social Democratic Workers Party] Congress. Most important tasks faced the congress, including two main tasks: determining the party's tactics in the revolution that had flared up, and uniting Bolsheviks and Mensheviks within a single organization and preventing division of the proletariat's forces. However, the armed uprising that had begun in Moscow, the strikes on the railroads, and harassment by the secret police prevented a number of delegations from attending. A. Bekzadyan, a delegate from Baku, was arrested en route. The emissaries of Moscow, the Urals, and Nizhniy Novgorod failed to arrive, and the representatives of Samara and Kostroma were late for the start of the congress. The necessary quorum for opening the congress was clearly not present. So then the first-ever party conference was held, instead of the planned congress. The conference completely fulfilled the tasks that the congress had been going to resolve and went down in history as the first Tammerfors conference.

In introducing into the practice of party life a new supreme collective organ—conferences—the delegates were relying not only on the experience of European social democracy, but also on earlier party decisions. The possibility of convening general party conferences as well as congresses was envisaged by a resolution of the Third RSDWP Congress in April 1905.

In that prerevolutionary period what distinguished conferences from congresses was the nature of representation. While congress delegates were elected by grassroots party organizations, essentially by all party members, conference participants were nominated by local committees. This was perfectly explicable: It was difficult and dangerous to hold elections in grassroots organizations operating illegally. As a rule, local committee activists were involved in preparing and taking part in conferences, which also ensured that they were convened promptly. This practice was later adopted for the post-October conferences also.

At the same time it became clear even in the prerevolutionary period that conferences could match congresses in terms of significance. This also applies to the Tammerfors conference, but probably the most vivid example in this respect was the sixth party conference, held in January 1912 in Prague.

It was not easy to convene it. Not only because of the arrests, the difficulties in ensuring that delegates could travel abroad, and the shortage of funds. The problem also was that by January 1912 the situation inside the party itself was extremely tense. Its organizations at local level were still only beginning to recover from the heavy blows after the defeat of the 1905-1907 revolution. Many local committees had been smashed. Suffice it to say that the entire Petersburg committee alone was arrested 6 times and the Moscow committee 11 times during these years. But what was more terrible than the direct losses was the emerging ideological disarray. "Liquidationists" and other opportunist groups and currents publishing their own newspapers and creating their own independent centers and organizations were trying to explode the party from within. The Central Committee had essentially been inactive for 2 years. Its Foreign Bureau consisted of "liquidationists." Its Russian Bureau, which had long adopted a posture of conciliation with the "liquidationists," had ceased to exist after a series of arrests in 1911.

So then a conference of Central Committee members in Paris in June 1911 decided to convene a general party conference. A conference, not a congress—clearly because of the grave condition of local and central organizations, which precluded hopes of adequate representation. The Foreign Commission, headed by Lenin, and the Russian Organizational Collegium, which consisted of Leninist Bolsheviks, prepared the conference. Tremendous hopes were pinned on the conference. In a number of cases the delegates who were to travel to Prague were elected directly by grassroots cells, as during preparations for a congress. This happened in Petersburg, for instance. As a result representatives of over 20 organizations assembled for the conference. By the standards of those times, that was a colossal success.

The decisions adopted in Prague played an exceptionally important role in the party's life. The "liquidationists" were expelled from its ranks, tactical tasks for the immediate future were determined, and it was decided to create an all-Russian workers' paper—this was to become PRAVDA. The conference elected a 7-man Central Committee including V.I. Lenin.

In all, seven party conferences were held in the period from 1905 to October 1917. They were convened astonishingly often: After all, four congresses were also held in those years. This confirms that the collective discussion of key questions of current policy and internal party life was a natural need for both leaders and ordinary members of the party.

Time was tough on the people. It was also tough on the documents. The few odd documents of the Prague and first Tammerfors conferences remain unpublished to this day. Even the published transcripts of the eighth (1919) and ninth (1921) conferences contain gaps.

There is a thin booklet bound in blue cloth with golden tooling on the flyleaf: "Minutes of the Seventh, April Conference of the RSDWP(B)" [Russian Social Democratic Workers Party (Bolsheviks]). The conference was held in April 1917. The party had emerged from underground just 2 months earlier, and V.I. Lenin had returned to Russia from abroad just 2 weeks earlier. The main task facing the Bolsheviks was to grasp what was happening and determine their place in the revolution. There was no time, no opportunity to convene a congress, but what took its place was a conference mustering what was for those times an unprecedented number of delegates—149. Many, like Kamenev and Stalin, arrived directly from exile. The report on the current situation was delivered by V.I. Lenin.

His speech was based on the famous April theses, which provided a detailed characterization of the ways in which the bourgeois democratic revolution would develop into a socialist revolution. Much of what Lenin said was new and unfamiliar and diverged from the views widely held among a section of the Bolsheviks.

We must not take part in the game in which the Provisional Government and the soviets are participating, whose name is dyarchy, Lenin said. The control over the government, control without power, proposed by the Mensheviks (Kamenev had particularly pressed for this measure) is utopianism. We must bide our time until the government antagonizes the masses and patiently explain to the people the invalidity of the soviets' current policy. When we take power we must have a firm idea of what we are going to do with it. Our goal is mastery of the soviets, the nationalization of land, propaganda of socialism in the countryside, and the transfer to the socialist state of the apparatus of trusts and syndicates.

Kamenev, Kalinin, Nogin, and Rykov disagreed with Lenin's position. Though they were old party comrades and shared his ideas... Bubnov, Stalin, and Zinovyev supported Vladimir Ilich. Defending his position, Lenin used persuasion and explanation, and sometimes sarcasm. People also argued with him and tried to prove their point.

At this period conferences continued to be convened frequently—there were nine of them between 1919 and 1929. The following practice was established: The congress would discuss and decide matters in principle and instruct the conference to prepare proposals and documents and to analyze the situation. The activity, for instance, of the 10th Party Conference, held in May 1921, was organized according to this scheme.

Likewise the 14th Party Conference, held in April 1925, which adopted the course of further developing the NEP [New Economic Policy] in agriculture (on the basis of A. Rykov's report). On the basis of G. Zinovyev's report the same conference adopted as a general policy guideline the thesis of the possibility of building socialism in a single country. The 16th conference (April 1929) was also tremendously significant, approving the First 5-Year Plan, whose basic guidelines were set out in the reports of A. Rykov, G. Krzhizhanovskiy, and V. Kuybyshev.

By this time a provision relating to conferences had been introduced into the Party Rules. Back in 1919, at the eighth party conference, it had been decided to hold such forums regularly, once every 3 months, gathering representatives of committees in the provinces and the capital together for them. In 1922, after the formation of the USSR, national Communist Party central committees, Central Committee oblast bureaus, and Red Army and Navy political departments received the right to send delegates to conferences.

But in 1934, at the 17th party congress, the provision on conferences disappeared from the rules.

Why? The answer lies in the transcripts of the 17th congress, which was probably the first to be held in an atmosphere of "general unanimity." Even former inveterate "deviationists" and "oppositionists"—Bukharin, Rykov, Tomskiy, Zinovyev, Radek—did not "spoil" the general picture but delivered repentant speeches.

At the next, 18th congress (1939), the provision relating to conferences was restored in the rules. A. Zhdanov, who delivered the report, argued that the purpose of a conference should be to nominate new cadres, primarily as members of the Central Committee, and also to replace former members. This was clearly dictated by very particular circumstances: By 1939 120 of the 138 members and candidate members of the Central Committee elected at the 17th congress had perished....

The last conference, the 18th, was held in February 1941 and was devoted to purely practical questions of the country's economic development and to revealing shortcomings and concealed reserves. It was primarily a matter of strengthening the defense potential in conditions where the breath of war heralding the storm that was to come could already be felt. No more conferences have been held since then. That is not surprising: After all, even the next, 19th, party congress was held only in 1952. At it, incidentally, the paragraph relating to conferences was again removed from the rules. It reappeared only in 1966, at the 23d congress. However, the rules did not define the conference's functions. They merely said that conferences are convened "to discuss pressing questions of party policy." The possibility of convening a conference was not realized for 20 years after that.... "Universal approval" and mass "unanimity" again became dominant during the years of stagnation.

...Today, with the restoration of Leninist norms, the party is returning to the idea of holding conferences. Historically, the conference is one of the most democratic institutions in party life and is designed to resolve current problems or ones which unexpectedly confront the party. Practically any questions decided by a congress, including cadre questions, can fall within the competence of a conference.

How will delegates be elected to the upcoming conference?

A norm for representation has been established: 1 delegate per 3,780 party members. According to preliminary figures, at least 5,000 delegates will be elected.

The delegates to the 19th all-union conference will be elected by closed (secret) ballot at plenums of union republic Communist Party central committees and party kraykoms and obkoms. Representatives of the Ukrainian, Belorussian, Uzbek, and Kazakh Communist Parties will be elected at party obkom plenums. Delegates will be elected in April-May 1988.

Three years of restructuring have brought processes of renewal of truly unprecedented scope which have affected all aspects of society's life. The economic mechanism is being radically restructured. New spheres of economic activity are developing at a rapid rate—the cooperative movement and individual labor—democratization and glasnost have expanded, and changes to the political system have been placed on the agenda. The complex questions that have accumulated in the sphere of national relations also need to be examined.

All these processes and phenomena are developing swiftly. Each new step in deepening restructuring generates a need to interpret the experience accumulated so far, to make a considered assessment of our progress in the main directions of economic and social development, and to analyze the participation in restructuring of party and other social organizations and state and economic organs.

In the present conditions only an authoritative, democratic, and essentially collective party organ can do this. The 19th party conference is called upon to be that organ.

Reader's Letters Summarized

LD311324 Moscow TASS in English 1114 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] Moscow March 31 TASS—Follows commentary by Boris Prokhorov, a TASS news analyst:

"The closer the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference (which is due to open late in June) is drawing, the more heated the discussions in the party press on problems and questions, which, in the opinion of the Communists, should be discussed at this forum, are getting. Proposals are tabled, which, while being purely personal ones, reflect, at the same time, the general trends in public opinion. They mostly concern problems of further efforts to ensure more democracy.

"I consider it necessary to table for discussion at the conference the question of restoring the Central Control Commission of the party", Ivan Sokolov from Siberia, who joined the CPSU more than 40 years ago, points out in his letter to PRAVDA. He recalls that the Central Control Commission, which was once established on Lenin's proposal, was an independent control body and was elected by the congress on a par with the Central Committee. "The Central Committee had its executive functions, while the Central Control Committee had the control functions." The author of the letter continues and proposes that this body which was cancelled in the thirties in its original form, be restored now.

Many authors of letters propose that measures be discussed for toughening the requirements on persons admitted to the party, drawing attention in that not so much to the production characteristics of the candidates as their personal qualities, in the first place modesty, exactingness on their own selves. This will help, as the Communists believe, eradicate in the party conceit, elitism, which from time to time manifest themselves.

It is necessary to work out a procedure for a more careful selection and promotion of the Communists to work in the party apparatus, the authors of many letters published in PRAVDA and SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA believe. Why not let the work collectives themselves name their best people to the party apparatus? Communist Yevgeniy Raskatov from the Urals proposes that rule be made of checking on the work by the party organs by specially selected members of the corresponding CPSU committees. "This must be done because in some places the apparatus is trying to rise over the elected bodies and almost command them, which is inadmissible."

No few proposals concern the perfection of work by the primary party organisations. They propose that the offices of "full time" (i.e. not employed in production) secretaries of the party bureaus be introduced at the primary organisations, which must eliminate their dependence on the administration, while others propose that the Communist leaders should regularly report on their work to the primary party organisations.

The proposals, different views and suggestions are numerous. The Communists are looking forward to the 19th conference of the CPSU. Much hope is pinned in the USSR on its decisions connected with ensuring more democracy in the life of the party and the society.

Limiting Terms Proposed

PM061144 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Apr 88 Second Edition p 2

[Article by Professor B. Fedotov of the Moscow Physical and Technical Institute, deputy secretary of the party committee, under the rubric "From the Mailbag Debate: Addressed to the 19th All-Union Party Conference": "Against Bureaucracy"]

[Text] What would you personally take to the conference platform? What specifically would you say and propose? What would you draw attention to? PRAVDA asked its readers these questions on 4 March.

Here is what I would say at the 19th all-union party conference.

Comrade delegates! First of all, let us think about how we can revive the Leninist party spirit everywhere. In this connection, I submit some thoughts for your consideration.

First, what must be done, in my view, to increase the party's prestige and influence is to cleanse it of those members who are not really communists: degenerates who are indifferent to public affaris, bureaucrats who are cut off from the people. Honest people are gripped by anger and a sense of protest when they learn that all these Adilovs, Churbanovs, Rashidovs, Khuramshins, Shchelokovs, and many of their ilk were party members. Yet the true nature of many supposed "party men" who were formed during the period of prolonged stagnation has not yet been revealed. Therefore I propose more active work to cleanse the party ranks. Every party member should be investigated individually, especially as regards his actions and behavior in recent decades.

Second. There should be a drastic reduction in the number of full-time party workers—both elected workers and members of the apparatus of party committees at every level. The inflated, obsolete leadership structure that grew up many years ago and the apparatuses of raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms that are often cut off from the party rank and file take the place of mass party work and lead directly to the bureaucratization of leading party structures. The best buildings in the cities are occupied by chiefs, deputy chiefs, and instructors who do not instruct anyone and are sometimes incapable of doing so. Hardly anyone needs that kind of instruction anyway. The very title is, in my view, an anachronism.

More and more young people are now being elected secretaries of raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms. But some of them promptly take up the well established unwritten, nonstatutory principle: Intelligence is distributed according to official position. If someone is first secretary, then it goes without saying that he is the most intelligent and omniscient. So he starts instructing everyone living and working in the territory of the city (or rayon, or oblast): engineer, agronomist, academician, professor—as to what to sow and when to plow, how to organize the feeding and milking of cows, and so forth; he instructs the teacher how to teach and the physician how to heal people. Sometimes it is the workers on raykoms, gorkoms, and obkoms who are responsible for administrative decree methods of leadership. By virtue of the party's prestige—and they are the party's official representatives—these methods spread and are taken up by soviet ispolkoms, public organs, and economic leaders.

Clearly raykom, gorkom, and obkom apparatuses are overblown, and in this respect do not meet the demands of restructuring or economic methods of management. Even the principle whereby the number of full-time (gorkom) workers depends on the numbers of the population and the number of party members is not adhered to. I visited Sakhalin on official business. Makarovskiy Rayon is there. It has a population of less than 10,000, a small factory, a small capacity coal mine, and a raykom like everywhere else. But take Mytishchinskiy Rayon in Moscow Oblast, with a population of nearly half a million, great economic potential, and a number of VUZ's and scientific institutes of national significance. Apart from Mytishchi City with a population of 160,000, the rayon also includes the cities of Dolgoprudnyy and Lobnya, each of which has 80,000 inhabitants, yet these last two have neither raykoms nor gorkoms. But nonetheless, Mytishchi CPSU Gorkom copes with the leadership of party and other work in those cities.

We should think in general about the expediency of raykoms and gorkoms in rayons and cities with a population of fewer than 50,000 and with fewer than 3,000 CPSU members. There would be less paperwork and conference mania and it would be easier to measure the work done in terms of real deeds.

And a third point. The systematic renewal of the membership of party committees. The 27th congress introduced a provision to this effect into the CPSU Statutes, but only in general terms. I believe that without concrete details, clarification, and the creation of a mechanism for systematic renewal, it is difficult to put this provision into practice, and its implementation could sometimes take a not entirely acceptable turn.

First and foremost, in my view, a strict limit on terms of office in leading party posts is needed. The CPSU Statutes adopted by the 22d party congress in 1961 provided for such limits. They were revoked 5 years later, at the 23d CPSU Congress. The resolution on removing the limits was, of course, an expression of the pressure from certain group interests which were passed off as partywide interests. Arguments can always be found in such cases. They used the argument that practice had produced not only positive results, but also certain negative secondary results and consequences.

The negative element took the form of introducing a degree of formalism into the process of selection and placing of leading cadres. Perhaps a given leader was the most capable and worthy, but the statutory limits led to his compulsory replacement. So there were some arguments against setting strict limits. All the same, practice in recent decades shows convincingly that the removal of limits had far more negative than positive effects, and that the negative consequences of limits can be neutralized entirely.

The practice of intraparty life in recent decades indicates, in my view, that the prolonged tenure of leading posts by the same individuals leads to serious negative consequences and stagnation in the movement of cadres.

First, a weakening of control from below is inevitable in these conditions, and a considerable number of leaders become detached from the party rank and file, grow indifferent to the opinion of their party comrades, and pay attention only to the assessment made of them by the higher-ranking party leaders.

Second, a prolonged term of office in party posts leads to the loss of the leaders' qualifications as specialists, they become all-rounders, so to speak, who can be transferred to any leading post you like.

Third, it may be said, in the worst case, that insufficiently mature Communists, who still find their way into leading posts not all that uncommonly, realizing that the appointment is "unlimited," begin to act arbitrarily and sometimes sink as low as abuses and crimes, utilizing the levers of power and impunity.

I would like to stress that a limit on terms of office in leading party posts and the systematic renewal of leading personnel are particularly necessary from the level of enterprise party committee to the level of party obkom (kraykom).

I propose that the 19th all-union party conference support the proposal to give concrete form to the provision in the Statutes on the systematic renewal of the composition of party committees at all levels by at least one-third at each election. The election of the same individuals as secretaries of party committees up to and including obkoms (kraykoms) should be permitted, as a rule, for no more than three terms in succession.

Today it is first and foremost the party itself that should set an example in eradicating red tape and bureaucracy. We must act thoughtfully and wisely, but at the same time boldly and resolutely. A return to Leninist principles and norms of party life must be carried out steadily in every respect.

Academics on Halting Volga-Chogray Project

PM311015 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 29 Mar 88 Second Edition p 1

["Letter in the Issue": "Two Billion to the Wind?"]

[Text] There are plans to spend approximately R2 billion on building the Volga-Chogray Canal and opening up irrigated land in the zone affected by it. Is this expense expedient? Will it be effective?

The canal project came into being deep within the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources as a constituent part of the project to divert some of the flow of northern rivers to the south, and provided for 1.9 cubic km of Volga water a year to be supplied along a 353-km channel of earth. The diversion project was canceled by the well-known CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers resolution. However, thanks to active maneuvering by the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, construction of the canal began.

At various stages the Volga-Chogray Canal has been opposed by the USSR Gosplan, the USSR Ministry of the Fish Industry, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Astrakhan Oblispolkom, and this project has been sharply criticized in the press. A commission of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the V.I. Lenin All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences [VASKHNIL] was set up last October to conduct an expert study of the project, and it includes specialists in hydrology, geology, soil science, ichthyology, economics, and so forth. Making field trips and involving local specialists, the commission has made a detailed study of the project and also of the stock and archive materials of the developer—the "Sevkavgiprovodkhoz" of the RSFSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources.

On 19 January 1988 the expert commission under the chairmanship of Academician A. Yanshin and VASKHNIL Academician A. Kashtanov reached the conclusion that construction of the Volga-Chogray Canal is ecologically dangerous and economically unsubstantiated. The commission established that the grave situation in Kalmykia, where livestock is dying of feed shortages and where soil salinization and desertification are progressing, has not been caused by a water shortage but is the result of mismanagement. The true causes of the trouble are an unwise increase in the numbers of livestock regardless of the feed productivity of pastureland and the supply of feed; excessive plowing of land, resulting in a sharp reduction in natural feed land; the pollution and exhaustion of surface and subsoil waters due to their rapacious exploitation; and the development of irrigated farming regardless of the special features of the soil and hydrogeological situation. This rapacious exploitation of soil and water resources was concealed for a long time by figure padding and distortion of statistical data, which was brought to light by the Kalmyk People's Control Committee.

Construction of the canal will not solve the region's economic, ecological, and social problems but will merely exacerbate them. The project does not fit in with the normative times for recouping expenditures and its implementation will prove unprofitable. In the territory of Kalmykia there will be secondary soil salinization, a rise in highly mineralized subsoil waters, a reduction in the area of natural feed land, and further desertification. Taking into account the present sanitary-epidemiological situation in the zone of the future canal route, favorable conditions will be created for the formation of new natural hotbeds of plague and tularemia. The water quality in the projected water conservancy installations will not meet normative requirements, and their use for irrigation will lead to a drop in the quality of agricultural products resulting from an accumulation of nitrates, pesticides, and other harmful substances. The problem of utilizing and carrying off drainage and ditch water has not been resolved in the project. The canal poses a real threat of destruction to the very valuable sturgeon stock, will have an adverse effect on other valuable commercial species of fish in the lower Volga and the northern Caspian, and will also bring the European saiga population to the brink of extinction.

The commission reached the conclusion that alternative options must be studied. However, despite the commission's conclusion, leaders of the USSR Academy of Sciences and the VASKHNIL, together with the USSR and RSFSR ministers of land reclamation and water resources (without involving representatives of other interested departments or even specialists who have studied the project), held a conference on the Volga-Chogray project and decided that construction of the canal must not cease and additional work should be done on the project.

No additional work on the project will help to rectify the fundamentally wrong decisions originally enshrined in it, decisions founded on a cost-based approach. It is an amazing fact that during the examination of the project the Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources is managing, by arbitrary means, to secure the adoption of decisions to its liking, contrary to the opinion of scientists and specialists, regardless of public opinion, and without a thorough examination of alternative options. A narrow departmental approach, in terms of the USSR Ministry of Land Reclamation and Water Resources, prevails when resolving the question of building the Volga-Chogray Canal and runs counter to the long-term interests of the development of the entire Caspian region.

The Volga-Chogray Canal project is in glaring contradiction with the policy of intensifying social production, saving resources, improving cost effectiveness, and protecting the environment. The Volga-Chogray Canal project does not meet a single one of these requirements. The canal construction which has begun must be stopped immediately.

We deem it necessary to ask the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers to adopt a resolution on the social and economic development of the Kalmyk ASSR as a region of ecological disaster.

Academicians V. Bolshakov, A. Zhirmunskiy, V. Laskorin, A. Rumyantsev, and B. Sokolov; VASKHNIL Academician V. Yegorov; G. Galaziy, D. Pavlov, L. Sushchenya, V. Tikhomirov, Yu. Chernov, I. Shilov, and A. Yablokov, corresponding members of the USSR Academy of Sciences; Ye. Syroyechkovskiy, corresponding member of the VASKHNIL; Doctors of Sciences B. Abaturov, D. Bibikov, A. Poddubnyy, B. Zimovets, B. Vinogradov, O. Kolbasov, and M. Lemeshev; Candidates of Sciences Ye. Pastukhova, B. Dubinina, and T. Korolyuk; A. Maksimuk, sector chief of the Central Scientific Research Laboratory of the RSFSR Main Administration of Hunting and Game Preserves.

AIDS Film Screened; Soviet Statistics Given

LD032122 [Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1740 GMT on 3 April transmits a 15-minute program entitled "Attention: AIDS." The program includes a WHO film on AIDS broadcast in English with superimposed Russian translation and introduced by Valentin Ivanovich Pokrovskiy, president of the Soviet Academy of Medical Sciences.

Regarding the AIDS situation in the Soviet Union, Pokrovskiy says: "The Soviet Union is still relatively well off. We have only one person suffering from the disease among Soviet citizens, the same as a year ago. But the number of bearers of the virus—that is, persons infected by the virus—has increased sharply. At the present time there are about 50 such persons among Soviet citizens."

Pokrovskiy observes that the complicated detection system makes it difficult to determine the exact number of Soviet citizens who harbor the virus. He notes that most HIV-positive Soviet citizens contracted the virus from foreigners.

He said: "We have already said that 16 people have been linked in a single epidemic chain, from that person who is suffering from AIDS, one of our citizens who was on a working assignment in Tanzania, a homosexual, via whom several men were infected, and several women were infected via them."

Number of Jewish Emigrants Increases

AU050903 Paris AFP in English 0850 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Geneva, April 5 (AFP)—The number of Jews to leave the Soviet Union for Vienna rose to 944 in March, as against 723 in February and 658 in January, the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration (ICM) reported here Tuesday. In March, 176 of the emigrants went on to Israel, the ICM added. Of 2,325 Soviet Jews to arrive in Vienna since the beginning of 1988, about 457 moved on to settle in Israel.

Former Uzbek Party Chief's Memory Honored

PM281325 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 28 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 1

[Report by own correspondent G. Dimov: "Forever in Our Memory"]

[Text] Tashkent—The Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee and the republic's Council of Ministers have adopted a resolution on perpetuating the memory of Vladimir Ivanovich Ivanov.

This name is particularly honored by the older generation in Central Asia. Valdimir Ivanovich was elected first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee in 1925 at a plenum after the first congress of the republic's Communist Party.

A party member since 1915, a civil war veteran, Red Army commissar and later a worker in party organs in Yaroslval and Moscow, in 1924 Vladimir Ivanovich arrived in Tashkent. The self-determination of the union republics and the formation of their communist parties was being prepared in the republic. A doctor by education and a subtle politician, Ivanov gave a precise prescription for curing the factionalism rife here—as much attention as possible to settling each people in the common family.

Later Vladimir Ivanovich Ivanov headed the party organizations of the North Caucasus and the Northern region, but he never lost his links with Central Asia. People traveled from the south to Rostov and Arkhangelsk to ask his advice.

A central street in Tashkent, a medical school in Samarkand, and a square in Kagane City near Bukhara have now been named for Vladimir Ivanovich Ivanov.

Article Denies Nonsupport of Socialism

PM011045 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Mar 88 p 3

[V. Ostrovskiy article under the rubric "Let's Investigate": "'Voices' From the Past"]

[Text] In one of its January broadcasts VOA (14 January 1988) tried to persuade us that the "Soviet system cannot survive in one separate state and that this system cannot but pursue world domination and suppress all other political systems."

According to the official U.S. criterion, it emerges that whatever aspect of Soviet power you take—domestic or foreign—everything is bad. How reminiscent this is of the writings of the emigre newspaper OBSHCHEYE DELO, which used to be published in Paris and which 14 September 1919 suggested to its readers that "Nicholas II's Russia contained many more potential opportunities for development than Lenin's Russia.... " It fought to "eliminate barbarian bolshevism." Here too it does no harm to recall that on the eve of the October Revolution 10 million of the 15 million peasant families were poor people, that more than half of all the peasant farms had no plows or iron harrows. Moreover, only 15 million people of the country's population of almost 140 million people were workers. Such were the potential opportunities of tsarism.

Quite recently the U.S. voice (10 March 1988) sighed that "open and liberal Russian patriotism is obviously preferable to aggressive communist ideology...." The less Soviet power and the less Marxism the better, and then, it said, Russia will become more orthodox and patriotic.

The compilers of the U.S. broadcasts are probably not familiar with Lenin's article "The Historical Fortunes of Karl Marx' Teachings" published by PRAVDA 75 years ago (March 1913). Most likely, they do not know about it at all. Otherwise, they would have an idea of how the theoretical victory of Marxism was already complete a long time ago. Even then its enemies were prophesying the renunciation of the class struggle and advocating "social peace" (that is a peace with slave ownership—Lenin's expression). Some 4 years before the victory of the October Revolution in Russia Vladimir Ilich Lenin wrote that the person who talks about nonclass policy and nonclass socialism should simply be put in a cage and shown along with some Australian kangaroo. Such was Lenin's conviction and faith in Marxism's victory in Russia and the inevitability of the socialist system.

Even now that Marxism's victory has become a reality and we have started on revolutionary restructuring in order to implement most fully everything which socialism, built on the basis of Marxist teachings, can give a person, the Western "voices" are insinuating some doubtful "formulas" into our midst. Their authors are simply ignorant and in their political essence have lost touch with history. In 1927 V.V. Shulgin, a former rich landowner in Volyn Gubernaya and a convinced monarchist who was in Soviet Russia illegally, published a book "The Three Capitals" in which he admitted that in their great majority the people entirely supported Soviet power.

Today few people doubt this. Even the BBC admitted a few days ago that the United States is concerned at the success which M.S. Gorbachev is enjoying in European public opinion. Judging by opinion polls, the Europeans trust him more than they trust Reagan. This has become possible not only as a result of the new political thinking, although it is extremely important for strengthening peace. It was this which played a dominant role in attaining the treaty on intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

But, you must agree, who would sign any treaty with us, particularly on the elimination of two classes of nuclear weapons, if we were weak, if our state were not monolithic, and its political and moral potential (in addition to its defense and economic potential) were not so reliable.

Do they not ascribe to us the aspiration to "world domination" because they want to interpret our strength in their own way? And now about the proposal to renounce Marxism, which is a marvelous combination of completely sober and scientific analysis of the objective state of affairs and the most decisive recognition of the significance of the masses' revolutionary energy, revolutionary creativity, and revolutionary initiative. Such a proposal can proceed only from sleepy people and those who physiologically reject socialism and for this reason would like to emasculate its ideological content. They know very well that a reverse "operation" would deprive us of that very pivot which is called the power of the soviets.

Zaslavskaya: Need for Systematic Opinion Polls

PM011349 Moscow TRUD in Russian 29 Mar 88 p 1

[Article by Academician T. Zaslavskaya, director of the All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion: "The Value of Public Opinion"—first three paragraphs are TRUD introduction]

[Excerpts] The All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Socioeconomic Questions (VTSIOM) held its first press conference yesterday. The creation of this center is yet another vivid sign of our times, the period of restructuring and the development of glasnost and broad democratization.

The press conference was conducted by I.I. Gladkiy, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. Answers were given to journalists' questions by K. Turysov, secretary of the AUCCTU, Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya, VTSIOM director, and Professor B.A. Grushin, the center's first deputy director.

Today's article describes the center's creation and tasks.

The All-Union Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Socioeconomic Questions (VTSIOM) was created recently under the AUCCTU and the USSR State Committee for Labor and Social Problems. It is a scientific research institute and information organization called upon to regularly and comprehensively research the requirements, interests, and tendencies of the country's diverse groups. The complex state organism can function fully and normally only given clearly regulated two-way communication between administrative subdivisions and the population.

Here it is important to stress precisely this condition—"clearly regulated communication." Because a certain two-way communication with the population existed, of course, before now. The population's letters and personal appeals to public organizations and newspaper and journal offices and so on make it possible to a certain degree to judge how effectively decisions are "working"—throughout the entire system, from the "top" to the very "bottom." But now this is not enough. Opinion polls organized on a scientific basis are needed on many topical problems in our life. [passage omitted]

In short, the creation of the VTSIOM is not a gesture to fashion, but a pressing necessity, a definite guarantee that the study of public opinion will help administrative organs make the most rational decisions.

Naturally, the position of the population's diverse groups—men and women, city dwellers and villagers, young people and elderly people—most probably will not be homogeneous. To whose viewpoint should preference be given? The center's task is to record an objective picture of opinions. For example, the proposals by a number of specialists to raise the price of meat and meat products. If city dwellers, who are supplied with meat at state prices (Moscow, Leningrad, Minsk and some others) in an organized system and in sufficient quantities, are asked what they think about this, then evidently they will consider this measure unfair and damaging to their interests. We encounter a completely different position when we discuss this question with the population of those cities where meat at retail prices is virtually unavailable. Here it is much more important for people that meat appear in the stores—at a higher price, but at least in a reasonable range. Moreover, it is extremely important that monetary compensation for the population's losses is proposed together with the price rise. Of course, in adopting the state decision to reform prices it will be essential to take into account the opinion not of just one group, but of the population's diverse groups and categories.

But are we not in this case captives of the majority? After all, the majority can also make a mistake. In this case the timely exposure of contradictions in society is very important. So that the contradictions do not appear unexpectedly, like geysers. This, by the way, is one of the functions of studying public opinion. If at the time when it was intended to decide to partially divert the flow of Siberian rivers to Central Asia a study had been made of public opinion in the regions directly affected by the diversion, the totally unnecessary colossal expenditure on the "project of the century" could have been averted. But even then the position of the population's various groups was varied. Siberia was categorically against it. But the population of the central Asian regions was unanimously in favor of such a measure. [passage omitted]

How soon will the VTSIOM be able to report the results of the first opinion poll? We are planning it for the first 10 days of June. Now the preparations for the first opinion poll are in full swing.

'Not for Publication' Airs Readers' Grievances

PM240947 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 Mar 88 Morning Edition p 6

[Feature under general heading: "Letters '...Not for Publication'"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Is the Press Above Criticism? [subhead]

Recently we learned from the "Zdorovye" ["Health"] television program what great moral and material damage had been caused to cancer patients and their relatives by a thoughtless article in a journal. I am sure that if all "sensational" articles in newspapers and journals were checked out with equal care, half of them would prove just as fraudulent.

However, so far practice has, alas, followed an entirely different course. When a "sensational" revelation is published in a newspaper, most leaders instructed to verify the authenticity of the given article try to avoid a conflict with the press. After all, punishing a subordinate is much easier and less of a hassle. And if you really want to, it is always possible to find fault with a subordinate, even if, at worst, it is not a question of the same mistakes that were described in the newspaper. And then an efficient-looking report is published: The information was found to be correct "in the main," and measures have been adopted. On the other hand, it can also happen that a denial is issued, but the newspaper, in an effort not to tarnish its reputation, does not publish it. Alas, that does happen!

Glasnost must extend to all spheres of life. It must throw light even on journalists' mistakes. So far the critics themselves have remained above criticism.

Judge for yourself: There are hundreds of critical articles and not a single denial! Everyone—lawyers, doctors, engineers—makes mistakes and "perpetrates abuses" at every step, but a journalist's opinion is sacrosanct.

This is the ground on which serious distortions of the principles of glasnost are possible.

With a view to preventing them I would like to propose the introduction of a rule in accordance with which a newspaper, having published a critical article, is obliged first and foremost to publish the response of the people criticized, giving them an opportunity to express their opinion in respect of the accusations leveled against them. I am sure that the flood of "sensational exposures" would immediately subside.

So far, if the prestige of a newspaper is placed on one side of the scales and the fate of an individual on the other side, the outcome is always the same.

I am thinking as I write: Who will want to publish this kind of letter, who will want to cut off the branch he is sitting on. Who will want to give up having a free hand.

D. Grishanov, lawyer, Moscow.

Editorial office comment: We cannot agree with Comrade Grishanov's claims. IZVESTIYA, just like other central newspapers, publishes various viewpoints, and if inaccuracies do occur, they are publicly rectified.

An Echo From the Past [subhead]

I was 13 when my father was arrested on 13 July 1938. I have always abhorred people who renounced their parents as soon as these had been labeled "enemies of the people." As a schoolboy I wrote to Stalin in 1938, 1939, 1940, and 1941 in defense of my father and pleading that he be released on account of his total innocence and his services as a Red Army commander during the years of civil war.

When the fascist forces occupied the city of Taganrog where we were living on 17 October 1941, the secretary of the Komsomol organization of Taganrog No 15 Secondary School contacted my friend Lev Kostikov, who was Komsomol secretary at the No 9 Secondary School, about the formation of a Komsomol underground. We had no knowledge or experience of clandestine work. We were raided twice. Only the principle of the "groups of five" saved us from being totally wiped out as no one knew all the members of the underground. That is why many of us were not arrested by the police or the Gestapo.

With frostbite up to my knees, I had not been drafted into the Army by the time Taganrog was liberated from the fascists. But I volunteered and fought as commander of a machine gun detachment on the Southern Front and subsequently I was company and then battalion Komsomol organizer. In the summer of 1944 I again wrote to Stalin, again in defense of my father, although I had no idea whether he was still alive. Obviously, there is a difference between a schoolboy or a political officer writing a letter. I was arrested. A year later I was released because I was innocent, but I was no longer fit for military service, I was an invalid. However, stubbornly I kept writing to Stalin, and later Khrushchev, about my father, of course.

I graduated with distinction from the university history department. However, I was not given a post. They gave me a diploma but no job. I taught physical culture. Only after the 20th CPSU Congress, when my father was posthumously rehabilitated "because of the absence of evidence of a crime," was I able to take up postgraduate studies.

I have been working for 30 years at the USSR Academy of Sciences, specializing in the culture and life of the Scandinavian peoples. Nonetheless, I still seem to live under a cloud as regards the cadre officials—I have not been allowed to travel to the countries I study, not even on the personal invitation of Thor Heyerdahl, for instance, or the Faroe Islands Communists (I am the author of the only book published in the USSR about the inhabitants of the Faroe Islands). Nor have I been given any explanation for this. To this day I cannot fill in questionnaires which require me to specify where my father died and where he is buried. On his death certificate there is a line across the space where the cemetry of whatever political prisoner camp should be specified, and no official of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs would inform me, even verbally, where my father's grave might be.

And so I work like a black sheep among my colleagues who travel abroad, some every year, others every other year or so, to study the culture and life of peoples in Europe, Asia, Oceania, or America. I am reduced to the works of foreigners available in our libraries or depend on the help of my foreign collegues who send me photocopies of scientific articles or books through the mail.

G. Anokhin, candidate of historical sciences, senior staffer at the USSR Academy of Sciences Ethnography Institute, and war and labor veteran. [passage omitted]

Review of Burlatskiy Book 'New Thinking'

PM311615 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 29 Mar 88 p 2

[Book review by N. Molchanov: "In the Glasnost Groove"]

[Text] There are books which reflect the times and there are those that reveal the writer's peculiarities—his manner of writing, way of thinking, style. Fedor Burlatskiy's book (Footnote) (Fedor Burlatskiy. "New Thinking," Moscow, Political Literature Publishing House, 1988) is notable for the fact that it combines the signs of the tumultuous period of glasnost with the author's method of reflecting it in distinctive dialogues, debates, and philosophical judgments.

The range of topics covered in the book is exceptionally wide. There are reflections on the new technological revolution, which has swept across the world like an ocean wave. This was the subject of a dialogue with the well-known U.S. sociologist and futurologist Alvin Toffler. There is also an analysis of the Japanese "miracle"—ways of organically combining the Japanese and world industrial civilizations. There is also an account of the history of the development of atomic and hydrogen weapons based on subtle probing of the mentality of the "modern Prometheuses"—physicists, mathematicians, and missile builders who are preparing more and more new types of military toys capable of destroying all living things. There are also thoughts about a philosophy of peace that is equal to the threats of our age.

The central part of the book is devoted to the problems of restructuring and renewal in our society. It opens with the stage dialogue "Two Views From the Same Office," which is already well-known to readers and audiences and which produced numerous reactions among the Soviet and foreign public. There have been two other essays of the same genre, on economic and political reforms—"Resistance" and "The Political Testament." The latter piece stands alone: It tells of the events of the collectivization period, when the supporters of Stalin and Bukharin were grappling with one another. Then there is a large section on theoretical and practical problems of democratization, socialist pluralism of opinions, and civilized conduct. Finally, the experience of economic reforms in China, described by the author on the basis of personal observation.

The book is distinguished by an easy style and theoretical thoroughness. I would say it revives the "Voltairean" tradition which was characteristic of many Russian thinkers and publicists in the last century. This "ease" is the result of a colossal amount of work, research, and amassed experience. For example, the "planned world" is an idea worked out by the author at the beginning of the seventies. The Leninist concept of reforms: These ideas stem from the author's large work published in that same period. Or the analysis of experience in China: There lie behind it several monographs on the history of the country and the activities of its leaders—Mao Zedong, Deng Xiaoping, and others.

The mixed genre, a series of genuine dialogues and fictionalized dramatic scenes, theoretical meditations and journalistic writing, attracted my attention in F. Burlatskiy's book "The Mystery and Lesson of Niccolo Machiavelli." It was done at the time on the basis of historical material and resulted in a fascinating biography of one of the giants of the Renaissance. Now this genre is used to examine the acute, burning problems of the present-day. And, it seems to me, it is used successfully.

One idea runs through the book, an idea expressed in its title—"New Thinking." New thinking about the technological revolution, about the future of war and peace, about global problems. New thinking about present-day socialism, about ways of associating it with the best achievements of civilization, about the contradictions and struggles of our people and other peoples of the socialist countries.

The leitmotiv of the book, present in all its very diverse materials, is the obvious desire to demonstrate, on the one hand, the complexity and difficulty of the problems of restructuring, but, on the other hand, their reality and feasibility. The book contains a selection of letters received by the author in connection with the televising of his original dramatic publicist dialogues—a kind of plays of ideas. For instance, one of the readers writes: "I do not believe in restructuring."

It must be said right away that there are still many skeptics of this kind. In itself skepticism is a useful thing, enabling one to maintain the sober approach and the spirit of realism that are necessary in any difficult matter. Skepticism is good as an antidote to allusions and utopian ideas, but not as an inhibiting factor at a time when it is necessary to do one's utmost. I believe that F. Burlatskiy is right to be optimistic about restructuring. The optimism that suffuses the book is the very mood that is essential today.

This book by a talented author will certainly arouse the interest of a wide range of readers, as much interest as was aroused by F. Burlatskiy's piece "Khrushchev" published not long ago in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA.

Yevtushenko Poem on Bukharin's Widow Published

PM051515 [Editorial Report] Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 March 1988 in its Morning Edition carries on page 4 under the headline "Bukharin's Widow" an approximately 100-line poem by Yevgeniy Yevtushenko dated July 1987 and reflecting on the tribulations of A.M. Larina, Bukharin's widow. The poem is accompanied by a photograph of Larina and by the following editorial introduction:

"Names are returning from oblivion and being reinstated in the right to our compassionate memory. Famous names and names little known to a person of the eighties, they are equal before the fate prepared for them. It is not true that the dead need nothing. They, their friends, we, and those who will come after us need the honor of their name. Recompense and justice sometimes come too late, but if they never came, this world would perish.

"'Misfortune does not come alone'—the wives, children, and close and distant relatives of those subject to repression were fated to be convinced of this from their own tragic experience. But we know still less about these people's destinies. It is more than half a century since the day Anna Mikhaylovna Larina, the wife of Nikolay Ivanovich Bukharin, crossed the threshold of his IZVESTIYA office for the last time. Bukharin's last place of work.... The chief editor would sign to press the issues of the newspaper which was raining down accusations on him—each more unjust than the last. The big clock on the front of the old editorial building used to be wound up from that office. Today it shows the time in a different age—the age of glasnost, truth, and justice."

Comparison of Article Criticizing Award System

Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 3 April 1988 in its Second Edition on page 6 carries the Miroslav Buzhkevich article entitled "Returning to the Subject: Award" criticizing the award system and corruption under Brezhnev. This article has been compared with the First Edition version published in the 5 April Soviet union DAILY REPORT, pages 57-59, revealing the following variations:

Page 59, column one, first paragraph, which reads "Another example. V Buzukov from Monin in the Moscow region recalls how the sportsman Sh. Karapetyan rescued 22 passengers from a bus that had fallen into a lake. His feat merited only...the order of the 'Insignia of Honor.'" is omitted by the Second Edition version.

Column two, paragraph five, second sentence of Second edition version reads...whole great country. (new paragraph) I was about....(omitting sentence)

Correction to Press Criticizes Former Official

The following correction pertains to the item "Press Criticizes Former Official's Activities" published in the 4 April Soviet Union DAILY REPORT, pages 41-42:

Page 41, column two, paragraph two, sentence two, reads ...but that would not have even been a half-truth.... (rewording)

Page 42, column one, paragraph one, sentence four reads ...without public discussion. Protests produced no results; the construction of the barrage is continuing. At the same... (rewording)

Economic

Zaykov, Biryukova Criticize Light Industry

PM161531 Moscow MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Feb 88 pp 1,2

[MOSTASS report: "To Improve Work in Light Industry"]

[Excerpts] The satisfaction of the growing demand for consumer goods and services directly affects the working people's mood and becomes a kind of barometer of restructuring. The tasks of Moscow's party organizations and soviet and economic organs in retooling light industry in 1988-1995 ensuring the satisfaction of the population's requirements for high-quality goods were examined at a 26 February meeting of the party and economic aktiv of the capital's light industry enterprises.

It was opened by L.N. Zaykov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom. One of the central, priority questions of the party's social policy, he said, is supplying necessary goods and services to the population. The activation of the human factor and the progress of our restructuring depend largely on how this task is resolved.

The CPSU Central Committee February Plenum stressed with new force the exceptional importance of accelerating development of consumer goods production. The situation which has taken shape in this sphere of the economy is causing grave anxiety to the Central Committee and government and immediately requires enormous, it may be said colossal, efforts.

It is essential to focus attention simultaneously on implementing radical economic reform, and on normalizing the current economic situation and the satisfaction of people's urgent requirements and needs. Here we need not simply quantity but above all high quality and a broad range of goods and services for the people.

It was from this viewpoint that the CPSU Central Committee Politburo session yesterday examined the government proposal for the retooling of light industry in 1988 through 1995. During the discussion of this question it was emphasized that overcoming the lag in the production and scientific base and the large-scale modernizing of light industry are acquiring priority importance.

The Politburo approved the program for accelerating scientific and technical progress in light industry and the extensive use of modern equipment and technology, which will make it possible to achieve a fundamental breakthrough in supplying the population with goods and services.

Moscow is a very large center for light industry. The output produced at the capital's enterprises includes the entire range of consumer goods. Large combines and associations and leading research and design organizations engaged in developing and producing consumer goods are concentrated here. Output with the trade mark of enterprises like the "Trekhgorka," "Bolshevichka," "Smena," "Moskva," and others is in demand and has a good reputation.

But the technical standard of production and, the main thing, the collectives' working and living conditions, have lagged considerably behind the requirements of the times.

The CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers draft resolution approved by the Politburo provides for modernizing 33 of the most technically backward enterprises in the capital producing consumer goods. Understandably, these are the enterprises for whose retooling large appropriations are required. That is why the Moscow party gorkom has proposed that the Moscow Gorispolkom and the USSR Ministry of Light Industry be instructed to draft a program for updating a further 36 associations and factories.

With account taken of this point the total volume of capital investments which it is proposed to assimilate by 1995 is in excess of R1.5 billion. The implementation of the planned measures will make it possible to considerably increase the production of high-quality light industry goods over this period.

But that is only part of the large-scale tasks facing Moscow's economy. There must be a 60 percent increase in work on constructing industrial, sociocultural, and consumer projects, at least 48 million square meters of total living area must be commissioned in the 12th to 14th 5-year plans, and in the central part of the city alone up to 700,000 square meters of housing stock must be modernized. It is necessary also to substantially increase work on the construction of trade, education, health, and municipal establishments.

It is impossible to resolve these tasks solely through the efforts of the city construction organizations. The capacities of ministries and the enterprises themselves must be enlisted in every way to the installation and modernization of establishments, including light industry establishments, and economic experience in construction must be actively developed.

In brief, a truly enormous amount of complex work faces us. It will require the constant attention of the party gorkom and raykoms, the Moscow Gorispolkom and its main administrations, and the rayispolkoms. Each person must be aware of his personal responsibility for implementing the projected goals. This was aptly stated in M.S. Gorbachev's speech at the Central Committee February Plenum: Instances of the disruption of targets must be made the subject of glasnost everywhere and the culprits must be severely punished.

I should like to emphasize one more fundamental element: The labor collectives and all Muscovites must be enlisted actively to work on modernizing light industry enterprises and solving social questions. We are advancing toward the 19th all-union party conference, L.N. Zaykov stressed, and we must greet it with specific results on all salients.

The report delivered by A.A. Nizovtseva, secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom, and the speeches delivered by V.V. Klyuyev, first secretary of the capital's Leninskiy CPSU Raykom, M.D. Poleshchuk, member of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom Bureau and weaver at the P.P. Shcherbakov silk combine, G.Ye. Napolov, director of the Rostokino worsted finishing factory, E.I. Razumeyev, USSR first deputy minister of light industry, and other participants pointed out that the past year has been instructive for the capital's light industry enterprises. Positive trends have been noted: the growth of the production of goods in heightened demand and the acceleration of the renewal of real assets. At the same time adherence to methods of management through directives, the weakness of direct links between enterprises and suppliers, and the lack of initiative and dependence of many leaders have been starkly highlighted. To ensure a truly fundamental breakthrough it is essential to gamble on increasing autonomy and responsibility, to better coordinate the efforts of party, soviet, and economic organs, public organizations, and labor collective councils, to launch creative quest more extensively, and to actively enlist the masses in the solution of all production and social questions.

The meeting was addressed by A.P. Biryukova, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

Our aktiv meeting, she said, is being held just 1 week after the CPSU Central Committee February (1988) Plenum. The plenum gave Communists and all working people reliable ideological guidelines for the process of renewal which has spread all over the country and precisely defined the prospects for action in solving the fundamental tasks of the present state of restructuring—deepening the democratization of social life and implementing radical economic reform.

It is pleasant to note that the aktiv meeting's work is proceeding in an atmosphere of unanimous support for the plenum decisions and the stipulations and conclusions contained in the speech by M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, which is imbued with a desire to find specific ways for their implementation.

It was emphasized at the plenum that we have entered the stage of practical preparation for the 19th All-Union CPSU Conference. Everything that has been done and everything that still remains to be done is perceived by the party from the viewpoint of Soviet people's interests. As you know, satisfying the population's demand for goods and services is a priority direction in our party's social policy. The people's real living standards, the balance between the population's money income and expenditure, and therefore the incentive role played by every ruble earned are directly dependent on the solution of this task. Something else is also directly dependent on it—and this is especially important politically now that we have embarked on implementing radical restructuring of the country's economic management: the masses' faith in the correctness of the chosen direction, and their interest in the utmost utilization of the potential of the new economic mechanism.

The measures being taken by the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government to increase the output of consumer goods are producing some results. During this 5-year plan period, and for the first time in many years, we have actually ensured faster growth of consumer goods production compared with the growth of industrial production as a whole. Manufacture of these goods increased 9.4 percent in 1986-1987. This figure includes a 4-percent growth in the manufacture of light industry products. Let me remind you that, during the last 5-year plan period, average annual growth rates for light industry products fell to 1.1 percent. So there have been some changes for the better in the sector's work. A tangible contribution to augmenting commodity resources was also made by light industry workers in Moscow.

Even so, however, the situation on the consumer market remains tense and the population's effective demand is not being satisfied. The retail commodity turnover plan was underfulfilled by R22 billion during the first 2 years of the 5-year plan period.

The prevailing situation, M.S. Gorbachev noted in his speech at the CPSU Central Committee February Plenum, demands vast, even extraordinary efforts along two avenues at the same time: in implementing the radical economic reform, and also in improving the current economic situation and satisfying our population's urgent needs. Objective conditions for substantial advance actually exist. The point is to ensure that everyone augments his work and learns to make full use of the existing production potential, the newly developing levers and structures of management, and the principles of full economic accountability [khozraschet] and self-financing.

It is from these positions that today we must evaluate the results of the first year of work by Moscow's light industry in the new conditions of economic management. This is necessary primarily in order to bring to light any errors that may have been committed, to learn the necessary lessons, and mainly to elaborate a precise program of actions for the current year which will ensure that targets are unconditionally met regarding state orders for commodity deliveries in physical terms, volume of transactions expressed in retail prices, and set profit targets.

The report and the speeches by participants in the aktiv meeting painted a sufficiently detailed picture of the work by the city's light industry enterprises and associations in 1987 and in the first month of this year. I support the opinion expressed by comrades that transfer to the new conditions of economic management made it possible to somewhat improve the work of light industry in Moscow. Enterprises are now working more steadily, production profitability has improved, and the manufacture of output in physical terms has increased for 9 of the 12 most important article categories. The profit plan has been overfulfilled.

But even so, I think that it is still early to talk about a breakthrough. The basic indicators of the activity of the sector's enterprises in Moscow cannot be described as satisfactory. During the first 2 years of the 5-year plan period, the output of light industry goods increased only 1.4 percent against the 6.2 percent envisaged by the Comprehensive Program. The manufacture of 6 of the 12 most important article categories is lagging behind program targets. It is very important that the aktiv meeting has engaged in a serious, critical, and at the same time businesslike and constructive discussion aimed at seeking out and activating reserves for boosting the efficiency of the sector's work, increasing output, and extending the range and improving the quality of goods.

I would like you not just to take note of this but to thoroughly grasp and realize that the problem of satisfying effective demand for light industry products is a highly acute one today. The CPSU Central Committee, local party organs and soviets, and the press receive thousands of letters in which people express justified complaints because weeks, sometime months pass before they are able to buy some essential goods, let alone anything special or fashionable; that they have to stand for hours on end to buy footwear and clothing; that the quality of many articles is atrocious beyond words. The shortage of goods and their poor quality are the topic of almost daily and justifiably scathing press, television, and radio comment.

The situation is extremely grave as regards supplying the population with footwear, sewn goods, and knitwear. The growth of output of many articles in these product ranges in physical terms just about keeps pace with the growth of the country's population. There can be no doubt: Light industry in the country, including in the capital, owes a large debt to the people. It fails to perform its main function by failing to satisfy people's needs for articles in terms of quantity, quality, and variety. This debt has been owed for many years. The time has come to repay it.

How can this be done in practical terms? Are there real possibilities of securing substantial improvement in the work of light industry enterprises and associations?

An all-around analysis of the state of affairs suggests an unambiguous conclusion: Yes, light industry has real possibilities for working more effectively, satisfying the people's demand much better, and making a much greater contribution to the implementation of the party's strong social policy. This conclusion is confirmed by the 1987 results of work by most labor collectives in light industry in Belorussia, Lithuania, and Estonia and a number of enterprises and associations in other union republics. It is also confirmed by the results of work by front-ranking Moscow collectives like the "Salyut" Industrial-Trading Sewn Goods Association (General Director Comrade N.Ye. Pokorskaya), the Hosiery Association (Comrade R.I. Zykova), the Weaving-Finishing Combine (Comrade A.V. Kornev), and a number of other enterprises.

What prevents many of Moscow's light industry enterprises and associations from working more efficiently and more fully satisfying people's needs?

First I would mention the inability of some leaders and specialists and labor collectives to make full use of the potential of the new economic mechanism and the advantages of economic methods of management. The point of the entire restructuring being implemented in the sector in line with the demands of the economic reform is to finally put an end to the "gross output" approach and to subordinate the activity of enterprises to the satisfaction of specific demands by specific consumers and social groups in the population. In practice, however, the mastery of new economic thinking and new methods of economic management is progressing very slowly, indeed extremely slowly.

It must, unfortunately, be said that there are still many enterprises which are continuing to orient themselves on the average consumer and are not worrying about studying and satisfying the population's demand. When drawing up their production plans, they are often guided, just as in the past, not by what people need and what is in demand on the consumer market, but by what is more convenient and simpler for the factory. Take, for example, the production of goods for children and young people in the country. Numerous speeches were delivered, assurances were given at all levels that output would sharply increase in 1987. In this context there was talk that enterprises would apparently find it difficult to earn the necessary profit. But what actually happened? Almost all types of children's wear in 1987 were produced in volumes that were below the 1980 level. It must be said, in all fairness, that Moscow enterprises achieved above-plan output for some categories of children's products. But this growth had no overall effect even in Moscow.

Take young people's clothing as another example. Last year its manufacture in the country represented only 3.7 percent of the total volume of sewn goods and 6 percent of knitwear. And yet young people account for about 20 percent of our population. Hitherto the capital has only one specialized store—the "Molodezhnyy" department store. And even that store receives only starvation rations-in terms of both quantity and variety of goods—from light industry enterprises in Moscow and Moscow Oblast. A similar situation prevails also as regards goods for the elderly.

The elaboration and consistent practical implementation of a considered products range policy today is the most important task facing every enterprise and association and the sector as a whole. There should not be a single group of the population which cannot satisfy its needs for clothing, footwear, textiles, knitwear, and all other products. This is how the CPSU Central Committee poses the question, and the party and economic aktiv of the capital's light industry assembled here today must do everything necessary for its swiftest solution.

Under the conditions of full economic accountability and self-financing, only a correct goods range policy gives the key to the dynamic production and social development of enterprises and their stable economic and financial position. It is the absence of such an approach that has been one of the causes of inefficient work by the country's light industry. The number of enterprises which have failed to fulfill their profit plan includes also 24 of the capital's enterprises, in other words almost one in every four. The "Trud" Fur Association, the "Trekhgornaya Manufaktura" Combine, the "Krasnaya Roza," Sverdlov, and Shcherbakov Silk Combines, the "Krugozor" and "Orlenok" Toy Plants, and others are among them. This has been caused by the huge fines paid by labor collectives for showing an irresponsible attitude to the fulfillment of contract commitments as regards the product range and the poor quality of goods. Fines in respect of shortfalls in output deliveries alone were 50 percent higher in 1987 than in 1986.

Leaders of industrial associations and many enterprises try to attribute these losses to the imposition of higher punitive fines for breaches of deliveries discipline, flaws in the system of mutual relations with suppliers and consumers, and other shortcomings of the economic mechanism. But how can you blame the new economic mechanism for the fact that, throughout 1987, fulfillment of the output deliveries plan in contract prices was worse than in 1986?

Take, for example, the Sverdlov Silk Combine. Now it is experiencing serious financial and economic difficulties. Instead of achieving its planned profit, the enterprise is experiencing losses. And one of the main causes of the difficulties now being experienced by the collective is the fact that, for a long time, the combine gave no thought to the future. Consequently, now they have retreated from the positions previously gained and have lost their flair for working on the products range and their skill in reacting effectively to changes in consumer demand. Similar problems face the collectives of the "Krasnaya Roza" Combine, the "Sokol" Sewn Goods Association, the "Bolshevichka" Industrial-trading Association, the "Vistol" Footwear Association, the furniture factory, and other enterprises.

Leaders of enterprises and primary party organizations must constantly and unflaggingly monitor questions of product range policy and commercial work. Unless this is done, it will be impossible to reliably ensure the economic and financial prosperity of labor collectives today. I deem it necessary to emphasize yet again that, in the new conditions of economic management, enterprises must finance the solution of all problems of their production, economic, and social development with funds they have earned. Parasitical attitudes—whose effect can still be felt—must be firmly rebuffed. The time of spendthrift approaches and total license, when remiss enterprises could freely dip into the state's pocket and blame superior organs, claiming that they had not allocated them either funds or capital investments, is a time that has receded irretrievably into the past. The practice of intrasector redistribution of funds from labor collectives which perform well to those which operate sloppily has been condemned, and it must be eradicated.

In this context, I wish that you would study in depth and persistently implement the positive experience accumulated by the country's light industry in the skillful utilization of the advantages of economic methods of management. For example, sound results have been achieved by light industry enterprises in Belorussia operating on the basis of the second model of the new economic mechanism, in other words on surplus revenues. Why should Moscow enterprises not switch to this model? Having, of course, thoroughly prepared for it in advance.

An important reserve for increasing efficiency in enterprises' work is the fullest possible use of the existing production potential. The loading of capacities for the production of sewn and knitted articles here is lower than the average for the country. The shift index at sewn goods enterprises lags considerably behind the sector average. As you can see, you are lagging, and substantially at that, behind even the average all-union indicators, let alone the front-ranking enterprises. The situation must be put right. We are entitled to expect much higher returns from Moscow's light industry than at present. The solution of this task requires much more active assistance from the Moscow soviet and the rayispolkoms as regards the supply of manpower to collectives.

The market situation demands that the volume of production of high-quality output be drastically increased. But a different propensity, a propensity for an easy, quiet life and the desire to adopt the smallest possible plan prevails in some labor collectives. Take this year, for example. More than 6 months have passed since the wholesale trade fairs were held, but Moscow's enterprises have still not fully concluded contracts for deliveries of goods in retail prices.

Party and soviet organs and primary party organizations must give a keen, principled assessment of these sentiments and persistently overcome them. The Law on the State Enterprise not only gives labor collectives the right to independently elaborate and approve their 5-year and annual plans, but also assigns to them the responsibility for satisfying social needs and fulfilling orders placed directly by consumers. Labor collectives must be mobilized to make the utmost use of all existing reserves to increase the manufacture of output that people need. The adoption of intensive but feasible plans satisfies not only the interests of the state and the people but also the interests of enterprises themselves, since it puts them in a better position to solve their production and social problems. Far from all labor collective councils realize this, and this is proved by the fact that during January and February a number of enterprises filed suggestions aiming at a downward revision of plan targets. This tendency is contrary to the spirit of restructuring and the essence of the Law on the State Enterprise, and it can only discredit the economic reform.

Work on the conclusion of contracts with the trade network on delivery of goods at retail prices fully in conformity with set settlement targets must be completed in the immediate future.

As the CPSU Central Committee June Plenum determined, the transfer of sectors, republics, krays, and oblasts to new general schemes of management is an inalienable component of restructuring the economy. Democratization—and the party is rigorously implementing this line—presupposes the introduction of a mainly two-tier system for sector management, substantial expansion of enterprises' rights and independence, and the transfer of a considerable proportion of management functions directly to labor collectives.

Moscow's party and soviet organs have recently stepped up work on the creation of new, progressive management structures for light industry. As of today, six industrial and trade associations are operating in the city. For example, the experience of the "Zarya" Footwear Industrial-Trading Association (Director Comrade A.A. Nikitin) and the "Moskva" Sewn Goods Industrial-Trading Association (Comrade I.I. Kremenetskiy) proves that this form makes it possible to respond flexibly to changing market conditions, take fashion requirements more fully into account, swiftly organize the manufacture of output in demand, and achieve a considerably better solution of collectives' social problems.

At the same time you are still doing little to create large-scale production associations. The fact that Moscow still has, as independent structural units, enterprises without a closed production cycle for the manufacture of finished products is an anachronism. For example, the "Krasnaya Rabotnitsa" and "Krasnyye Tekstilshchiki" Weaving Factories, the Izmaylovskaya Spinning and Weaving Factory, and others manufacture unbleached fabrics which are then sent to be finished at other Moscow enterprises. So why not set up associations which would pursue a standard technical and products range policy?

The breakthrough to a qualitatively new level in satisfying the people's needs for goods in terms of output volume, variety, and quality—and this is one of the most important goals of the party's social policy—demands the implementation of major measures for the retooling of light industry. It has to be admitted that many burning and immediate problems have accumulated in the development of its production base. Bearing this in mind, the party Central Committee and the USSR Council of Ministers adopted in the last few years a number of important decisions aimed at consolidating the sector's production and raw materials base.

The program approved at the 25 February Politburo session for accelerating scientific and technical progress in light industry in 1988-1995 essentially opens up a new stage in its development. The goal of this document is to create by 1996 a scientific and technical potential which would make it possible to satisfy at a high level the population's diverse demands for light industry products. The key task which has been set is to drastically increase production and improve the technical standard and quality of equipment for light industry. Some 1,490 types of modern machines must be developed and assimilated in 8 years. Compared with the previous 5-year plan period, the volume of work on the development of new equipment must increase 3-4 times. Enterprises from the defense industry and machine building sectors have been enlisted in the fulfillment of this task.

The resolution envisages a large-scale program for the retooling of existing production capacities and the creation of new ones and the elimination of "bottlenecks" and intrasectoral disproportions. Here priority is given to the development of the footwear, sewn goods, and the knitted goods industry and to finishing facilities in the textile industry. Much work on the implementation of the resolution will have to be done by you, Moscow's party, soviet, and economic leaders. Compared with the current 5-year plan period, the volume of capital investment in the city's light industry will more than triple during the 13th 5-Year Plan period.

In the conditions of the new economic mechanism, considerable responsibility for the implementation of retooling plans has to be borne by labor collectives. I would like to draw your attention to the fact that two-thirds of capital investments envisaged by the resolution must be financed by funds supplied by the enterprises themselves. And this means that these funds have to be earned. It is necessary to thoroughly consider the reconstruction plans and promptly prepare for the swiftest possible assimilation of capacities to be created. The organizational and mass political work by primary party organizations must focus on the mobilization of labor collectives for the solution of these tasks.

Crucial tasks are also assigned by the resolution to the sector's science. In Moscow there are 13 light industry head scientific research institutes in which half of all the sector's scientific cadres work. That is a powerful potential, but—and I think you will agree with me—the yield from it as yet is small.

What are the main problems here?

First. There is an acute need for greater concentration of efforts by scientific research organizations on the solution of key problems of the sector's scientific and technical progress and the development of fundamentally new technologies. It is impossible to go on accepting the fact that the proportion of developments up to world standards in the institutes today is only 7 percent. In order to accelerate advance along the key avenues, scientific organizations must deepen cooperation with academic institutes and VUZ's and must develop business contacts with scientific research institutes from related sectors.

Second. We cannot rest satisfied with the contribution made by sector science to the solution of the urgent tasks of boosting production and improving the range and quality of articles. This is eloquently proved, for example, by this fact: Today's proportion of output manufactured by Moscow's enterprises following elaborations by the sector's institutes ranges between 3 and 15 percent of its total volume. Could it be that the institutes fulfill orders and solve problems for enterprises in other regions of the country? This is not so. Leaders of local enterprises and associations and of republic ministries have told me about the inadequate attention paid by sector science to their problems. One of the likely causes of this situation is the fact that a considerable proportion of scientific collectives' activity is accounted for by the performance of work which has nothing to do with the fundamental questions and tasks of accelerating scientific and technical progress. For example, work of a normative-statistical nature accounts only for about one-third of the institutes' total output.

Third. The processes of integration between science and production are dragging on intolerably. So far, not a single science and production association has been set up in Moscow. The "Tekstil" MNTK [Interbranch Scientific-Technical Complex] which was set up more than a year ago has done virtually no work yet. Urgent work here is still being supplanted by the elaboration of various proposals and programs and the implementation of a variety of preparatory measures.

In short,, we are entitled to address serious complaints to the Moscow CPSU Gorkom's Light Industry Department and Science Department for exercising insufficient influence on the progress of restructuring the activity of sector scientific organizations.

Fashion design organizations must be much more efficient in their work. There have been certain positive developments here. An All-Union Center for Developing the Range of Light Industry Goods and Clothes Fashion and Design and a Russian Fashion Center have been set up with an appropriate production base. The transfer of small enterprises to fashion houses has had a positive effect on the renewal of the product range. But these are just initial steps. More work must be done to improve cooperation between design organizations and production and to boost the role and activeness of fashion designers, artists, and color and pattern designers working either in design organizations or at the enterprises themselves.

Much attention was given to social questions both in the report and the speeches by participants in the aktiv meeting. And primarily to the most acute one, the housing question. For many years on end, Moscow's light industry enterprises have been slow in solving it. There has been some change for the better here recently. But the waiting line for housing is still long. So far there has been no success in reducing the number of families living in hostels. I wish the Moscow Soviet and rayon soviets to continue to provide the capital's light industry with the utmost cooperation and practical assistance in the solution of the housing problem and the development of the social sphere. It is the solution of these problems which contains the key to reducing the outflow of cadres and keeping them.

There is no question that deliveries of highly productive equipment to enterprises are important. But only the creation of stable collectives and the high qualifications of workers who make skillful use of progressive equipment can guarantee successful work.

The CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Government are now doing more than ever before to bring light industry up to the level of modern requirements. It is your duty to respond to this concern by radically improving all your activity.

Allow me to express confidence that the Moscow light industry workers will do everything for the successful fulfillment of the tasks set by the 27th CPSU Congress and subsequent party Central Committee plenums and will greet the 19th all-union party conference with new successes in their work. [passage omitted]

Summing up the results of the meeting, L.N. Zaykov stressed that an important, businesslike talk had been held today. There had been an in-depth analysis of the state of affairs in the sector and constructive proposals had been submitted on drastically changing the situation, improving work under the new conditions of economic management, improving the technical standard of production and the quality of the output produced, and expanding its range.

Many good decisions had been taken even earlier, and it was important now to turn everything planned into specific deeds. For that it was essential to bring into operation all the reserves, of which there are many in the sector, and to enhance the role of the union and republic ministries in modernizing Moscow light industry enterprises. A persistent creative quest, which is the only guarantee of success, must be introduced in every collective. Without the people, without the working people's active participation in the solution of economic and social problems, L.N. Zaykov stressed, we will achieve nothing!

Taking part in the meeting were L.F. Bobykin, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Light Industry and Consumer Goods department, responsible workers of the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers, leaders of a number of ministries and departments, and representatives of party, soviet, and economic organs and public organizations.

Decision Adopted on Capital Construction

LD291236 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian
1100 GMT 29 Mar 88

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a decision on providing capital construction with material resources in the period 1987-88. It notes that capital construction is still failing to fully safeguard the resolution of the growing tasks of developing the economy, and of pursuing the strong social policy elaborated by the 27th Party Congress and subsequent CPSU Central Committee plenums. One of the reasons holding back capital construction is a profound lagging behind in developing production of many types of construction and timber materials, rolled metal, and other resources.

The CPSU Central Committee has demanded that the tasks of accelerating development of the material and technical base of capital construction and of increasing production of building materials should occupy a prime place in the activity of all central and local organs.

The CPSU Central Committee pledged Central Committees of the Communist Parties of union republics, and party kraykoms, obkoms, gorkoms and raykoms to strengthen control over the fulfillment of plans for the production of building materials and items, and the implementation of the decisions of the party and government for the further development of the material-technical base of capital construction.

The decision will be published in the press.

Resolution Passed on Norilsk Workers' Services

LD301413 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 30 Mar 88

[Text] The CPSU Central Committee has adopted a resolution on the experience of the work of Norilsk Gorkom and the administration of Norilsk mining and metallurgy combine in implementing the guidelines of the 27th CPSU Congress directed at providing working people with services. Giving positive approval to accumulated experience, the CPSU Central Committee has requested more active utilization of the reserves in the Norilsk industrial area for further increasing the quantity and expanding the range of services and raising the quality and standards of service. The resolution instructs party and local soviet bodies of union republics, krays and oblasts, ministries and departments of the USSR, to concentrate their efforts on carrying out practical measures to accelerate the development of paid services. It is stressed that this problem should be regarded as an urgent task of restructuring, an important factor in raising the living standards of the people.

The resolution will be published in the press.

Briefs

Gas Pipeline To Be Tested

By this morning workers from the GDR had completed the line part of the work on the Yamburg-Tula 1 gas pipeline. On the 165-km long section the pipes have been welded, insulated, and placed in the trench. Testing of the gas pipeline will take place in the next few days. It is planned to put it into operation this June. [Summary] [*LD310214 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0000 GMT 30 Mar 88*]

Coal Plan Figures

The workers in the country's coal industry today fulfilled the plan for the 1st quarter. Since the start of the year they have extracted 192.5 million tonnes of fuel. More than 6 million tonnes of coal will be dispatched by the miners in the remaining days of March. [Summary] [*LD310212 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 29 Mar 88*]

Computer Center in Minsk

A powerful computer center has been put into operation in Minsk where national economic specialists can familiarize themselves with new developments in scientific thought and advanced experience without the intermediary of operating staff. Anyone who so desires can gain access to the display hall. To this end, it is necessary only to attend a 1-week course of so-called "Elimination of Computer Illiteracy." [Text] [*LD310210 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 2300 GMT 29 Mar 88*]

Agricultural

'Serious Deficiencies' Noted in Production

NC041102 Baku International Service in Azeri 1200 GMT 31 Mar 88

[Text] A meeting of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee in Baku has discussed the tasks of the republic's party, soviet, and economic organs in relation to the effort being made to upgrade production in farming and livestock breeding in the republic. The speakers at the convocation noted the achievements made in various agro-industrial domains and outlined their views on preparations for the cultivation of summer products in the republic.

The speakers also discussed the measures that are being put into effect to ensure the successful implementation of the plans for the 3d year of the 5-year plan period. They noted the serious deficiencies and unresolved problems in many areas of agricultural production.

Kyamran Bagirov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee, participated in the meeting.

Current Weather, Crop Status Reviewed

PM311423 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 29 Mar 88 p 2

[Report by Agrometeorologist N. Ignatova: "Weather and Crops"]

[Text] The weather is changeable on the European territory of the USSR. It is warmer than usual in Krasnodar Kray, Rostov Oblast, the eastern Ukraine, the southern parts of the Volga area, and the Central, Northwest, North, and Volga-Vyatka regions, and colder than usual in southeastern parts of the Ural region. Winter crops are losing their covering of snow, the depth of which has reduced somewhat. In some parts of Yaroslavl, Kalinin, Vologda, Kostroma, and Perm Oblasts and Bashkir ASSR, where the snow was still very deep and the ground was only slightly frozen, plants continued to die because of mold. An icy crust still clings to the fields of winter crops in a number of places.

In southern oblasts of the Ukraine and in the greater part of Moldavia and the North Caucasus, winter grain crops and perennial grasses have resumed growth approximately 5-10 days earlier than average. The ground there has completely thawed out, although precipitation has prevented it from drying out and has hampered field work. It should be said that, despite the rain, there is less than the average amount of productive moisture in the soil in a number of rayons in the southern oblasts of the Ukraine. So it is particularly important to use moisture-saving techniques here. In most parts of Stavropol Kray, as well as in parts of southern Krasnodar Kray and the autonomous republics of the North Caucasus, where the top 10-centimeter soil layer has warmed up to 10 degrees, favorable conditions have been created for sowing grain and vegetable crops and early potatoes.

In the farming areas of Siberia, in the northern oblasts of Kazakhstan, and in the Far East, wintering conditions were favorable for winter grain crops and perennial grasses in the zones where they are cultivated. The deep snow provided sufficient protection for the plants against the effects of heavy frosts, so the soil temperature at tillering node depth in the case of grain crops and root collar depth in the case of grasses was near optimal.

Over most of the territory of the Central Asian republics, where, in the first half of March, the average daily temperature was over 5 degrees (in southern oblasts over 10 degrees), winter grain crops and perennial grasses were growing, with a good supply of moisture. Alfalfa has grown to a height of 15 centimeters, to 30 in places; grass has grown to 5 or more centimeters on pasture land.

Mass field work, the sowing of spring cereals, alfalfa, and corn, and the planting of vegetable crops and potatoes has started everywhere. In Turkmenia and in places in the western oblasts of Uzbekistan, where the ground temperature at a depth of 10 centimeters has risen to 14 degrees, favorable conditions have been created for selective sowing of cotton. In Tajikistan heavy rain has hampered the pollination of early-flowering stone fruit crops.

Media Report Mar-Apr Agricultural Developments

24-30 Mar Results

LD310340 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 23-30 March. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

24-26 March

No fileworthy items monitored.

27 March

This season, the area of orchards and vineyards in Uzbekistan has been increased by 10,000 hectares. The cotton area this year has been reduced by almost 140,000 hectares. A considerable part of this area will soon be occupied by new orchards and vineyards. This Sunday is a day of mass planting of fruit trees: More than 1.5 million grapevines will be planted. (0400)

28 March

After a prolonged spell of foul weather, field work has resumed in Chimkent Oblast; grain crops are now being sown in southern rayons. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes in Dzhambul and Alma-Ata are beginning to harrow winter grain crops and perennial grasses. Spring is late in the south of Kazakhstan this year. (2300)

29 March

In the eighties [as heard] 30,000 hectares were sown for cash crops such as rape, perko, and tritikale in Uzbekistan. Now we have trebled this acreage. But there are still immense reserves. The acreage under these crops can be increased to 200,000 hectares, which will make 1 million fodder units in addition to the main harvest of the primary fodder crops. (0200)

The decision has been made to zone the new wheat variety Selenga. It was evolved by plant breeders of the Buryant branch of the Siberian division of Vaskhnil on the basis of the Buryatskaya-34 variety, which is common in Zabaykalye. The new variety ripens more quickly than its predecessor, is more drought resistant, and produces large yields. This spring Selenga will be sown on over 20,000 hectares in Buryatia. (0204)

Mass top-dressing of winter bread grain is under way in Belgorod Oblast. (1300)

The farmers in Djambul Oblast of Kazakhstan have started sowing cereals today. For the first time all the fields to be sown to cereals have been subjected to stubble-mulch tillage. Snow retention work was carried out on them in winter. Anti-erosion sowers were used to place the seeds in the soil. (1300)

Sowing of corn has started in Azerbaijan. (1300)

This year Kirghizia has supplied almost 6,000 metric tons of fodder seeds to other republics such as the Baltic republics, Belorussia, and many oblasts of the RSFSR. (1300)

The spring laying out of orchards has started in Armenia. Every year Armenia sends more than 5,000 metric tons of fresh and canned fruits to other republics. (1300)

Today we received a report from Uzbekistan. Seventy families of machine operators, builders, and livestock breeders from the Ferghana Valley have left for farms in Spasskiy rayon of Primorskiy Kray. On the basis of an agreement concluded by the ispolkoms of the soviets of people's deputies of the Andizhan Oblast and Primorye, those who wish can move to populated areas in Primorskiy Kray with their families from densely populated towns and villages where there is an excess of manpower resources. (1300)

Top-dressing of winter grain crops from the air and the application of fertilizers on the ground is being carried out over more than 400,000 hectares of land in Belgorod Oblast. (1300)

In Vladimir the party and economic aktiv of the oblast has discussed ways of developing the non-Chernozem zone. It was noted that despite the fact that plans for the procurement of grain and animal husbandry products are being fulfilled and that the number of loss-making farms have fallen, the yield from resources being invested is still extremely low. (1800)

30 March

Eleven union republic farms are carrying out spring sowing. Commentator Semen Astakhov reports: The winter grain crop situation looks pretty good at the moment compared with previous years. Only a few oblasts report the loss of plants. In Kursk Oblast, winter crops will have to be resown on approximately 230,000 hectares; in Tambov Oblast on 120,000; in Belgorod Oblast on 50,000; and in Voronezh Oblast on 30,000. In the most southerly regions of the lower Volga area, sowing of early grains and pulses has ended in places in the Kalmyk ASSR. Harrowing of fields is under way in Astrakhan Oblast and south Volgograd Oblast. Mass field work is in progress throughout the north Caucasus: The situation there has become somewhat complicated because of strong winds and dust storms which took place in the northeastern rayons of Stavropol Kray and in the east of Rostov Oblast. Sowing of grasses, early grain crops, pulses, and coriandrol has ended at many farms in Kuban. In more northerly zones cleaning and checking of seeds is being completed. In the central region of the non-Chernozem zone of the RSFSR, 14 percent of seeds have turned out to be below quality. This year preparation of equipment of sowing is cheaper and of better quality. Use of financial autonomy accounts for this. Tractor repairs have been completed in Kazakhstan. (1800)

31 Mar-3 Apr Results

LD040124 [Editorial Report] The following is a compilation of reports on agricultural developments in the USSR carried by Moscow Domestic Service in Russian, unless otherwise indicated, on 31 March-3 April. GMT times of broadcasts are given in parentheses at the end of each item.

31 March

As of this hour, corn has been sown on 30,000 hectares in Uzbekistan. Corn sowing is in progress today in most oblasts of that republic. (0204)

The sowing of cereals and feed crops has begun in Naryn Oblast, Kirghizia. Intensive technology is being introduced. This year more than 500,000 hectares of arable land in the republic will be sown to grain and feed crops. (0204)

Alma-Ata Oblast mechanizers have started sowing grain crops. This spring some 25 million hectares in Kazakhstan are to be sown to grain crops alone. As is known, according to the results of the 2 years of the 5-year period, Kazakhstan did not fulfill the plan for the sale of grain. Now it has to work to make up for this shortfall. (2300)

1 April

Selective cotton sowing began today in the southern rayons of Tajikistan—much later than usual because of cold, wet weather. The growers are doing well and making up for lost time. (1100)

Farmers in Primorskiy Kray have begun sowing early grain crops over an area exceeding 140,000 hectares. (1300)

2 April

The sowing of early grain crops has started on the fields of the Jewish National Oblast. The fields have thawed only to the depth of the plowing layer. One to 2 weeks from now the heavy loams will become impassable to the sowing units as a result of the thaw penetrating to greater depth. (0000)

The sowing of early grain crops has begun in Kazakhstan, southern Belorussiya, and Khabarovsk and Maritime Krays. Cotton sowing has begun in Uzbekistan and southern Tajikistan. (0200)

As of this morning, the sowing of grain and bean crops, not including rice and corn, has been completed on half of the acreage by Tajikistan's crop farmers. Seeds of spring grain crops have been sown to an area of some 11,000 hectares, mainly on lands situated in the republic's valley zone. (0204)

The sowing of raw cotton has begun in Azerbaijan. This year some 300,000 hectares of irrigated lands have been set aside for this valuable technical crop. The main acreage will be sown to locally bred varieties. (0204)

The mass sowing of sugar beets has begun in Krasnodar Kray. The goal for the year is a yield of more than 3 metric tons from each of the almost 200,000 hectares allocated to this crop, with the help of intensive technology. (0800)

The mass sowing of sugar beets has begun in the Kuban. (1000)

3 April

Cotton sowing has started in the southern regions of Tajikistan, beginning with especially valuable thin-fiber varieties. As of today, sowing has been completed on more than 1,600 hectares; the overall area under cotton cultivation in the republic amounts to 313,000 hectares of irrigated land. The republic's cotton farmers will be able to perform the sowing in 6-8 working days. (0600)

Scientific

'Cosmos-1937' Exploratory Satellite Launched

LD060607 Moscow TASS in English 0505 GMT 6 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 6 TASS—The Soviet Union Tuesday launched another satellite in the Cosmos series.

Cosmos-1937, which is meant to continue space exploration, was put into an orbiting path with the following parameters:

Initial period of revolution—100.6 minutes.

Maximum distance from earth—813 kilometers.

Minimum distance—774 kilometers.

Inclination—74 degrees.

The on-board equipment is functioning normally.

Experiments Aboard 'Mir' Station Outlined

LD051056 Moscow TASS in English 0949 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Moscow April 5 TASS—By a TASS correspondent at the Ground Control Center:

Vladimir Titov and Musa Manarov have been working in space for three and a half months.

Their plans for today cover technological, geophysics and astrophysics experiments and maintenance work on some of the on-board systems.

A series of experiments aiming to determine the optical characteristics of the atmosphere is to be conducted under the geophysics research program. The work will be done with the help of an EFO-1 electronic photometer by measuring the brightness of stars as they are about to disappear behind the atmosphere of earth.

Experiments are continuing in the crystallizer and Pion-M installations to study the peculiarities of physical processes in zero gravity and gain more knowledge for the benefit of specialists developing production equipment.

Another series of measurements of charged elementary particle flows in near-earth space will be made during the day by dint of the Maria magnetic spectrometer.

According to the crew's reports and telemetry data, the flight of the orbiting research platform Mir is proceeding normally.

Austrian Cosmonaut To Join in 'Mir' Flight

LD052130 Moscow TASS in English 2031 GMT 5 Apr 88

[Text] Vienna April 5 TASS—TASS correspondent Dmitriy Faddeyev reports:

A decision on the participation of an Austrian cosmonaut in one of the flights to the Soviet orbital "Mir" station for joint experiments with Soviet scientists was adopted at a meeting of the Austrian Council of Ministers today. The decision was adopted in connection with the proposal for a joint flight, made in June last, during an official visit to Austria by Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Nikolay Ryzhkov.

The government's decision signalled the official beginning of the preparation for such a flight, responsible official of the Austrian Ministry of Science and Research, Otto Zellhofer told reporters. The candidate for a space flight, who will later undergo a two-year programme of training in the Soviet Union will be selected. (A multitude of applications for the participation in such a flight came to the ministry prior to the official decision). The programme of the experiments to be made on board the orbital station will be determined, Otto Zellhofer said.

The data about the proposals to the ministry that came from various research centres of the country show that Austrian scientists are not going to limit themselves to a trip to outer space in organizing such a flight. The proposals include those from medics of Innsbruck and Graz for experiments on board the station, the proposals of Vienna specialists about operations for the welding of materials in weightlessness. The University of Graz proposed a programme for the creation of a small artificial satellite to conduct physical experiments outside the orbital station and many other programmes. The most important of these proposals are to be selected and these matters are to be agreed upon with the Soviet side, Otto Zellhofer noted.

The coming flight is not the first instance of Soviet-Austrian cooperation in space exploration. Magnetometers created in Graz were used at Soviet space stations and operated effectively.

Military

Readers Want Justice To Prevail in Armed Forces

PM051259 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Mar 88 Second Edition p 3

[Article under the rubric "Latest Mail" attributed to PRAVDA Military Desk: "Complaints Going Round in Circles"]

[Text] This is not, of course, because the world is round but because, as Warrant Officer A. Fedorov from Dushanbe, recently returned from Afghanistan, wrote to the editorial office: "It is impossible to get to the truth at the local level." A. Sorokin, an honest officer of principle, approached him in the unit, he wrote, in an effort to combat abuses and, as a result, was very rapidly transferred to a new post. The author of the letter has asked the editorial office to "help justice prevail."

The editorial offices of a number of newspapers and journals have received letters recently, some of which are from the Armed Forces, connected with restructuring and glasnost. People turn to them as "a last resort."

Yes, as a rule, newspaper items do not go unnoticed—they are acted upon, with real measures being taken. For example, following a letter from Private A. Morozov from the Northern Group of Forces (published in PRAVDA 10 January) concerning one Private N. Slizhov, who had perpetrated breaches of service regulations, criminal charges were instituted and Senior Lieutenant A. Medvedev, company commander, had disciplinary charges brought against him. Major General A. Abramov, chief of rear services in the Red Banner Turkestan Military District, has reported that measures are being taken to improve the situation at the "Turkestanets" Military Sovkhoz....

It is good, of course, when measures are taken following an item published in the press. But in the report entitled "Resolving Problems on the Spot," we tried to treat the matter from a different angle: The editorial office receives hundreds upon hundreds of complaints, but the newspaper's capabilities for publishing them are highly limited. Consequently, we are forced to forward a considerable number of them to the Ministry of Defense. But, in turn, the ministry itself is unable to investigate every single letter it receives, so it sends them "down" through the various departments, as a result of which the letters sometimes arrive on the desks of the people who are actually the target of the complaint. That is why it has been proposed to resolve many problems at the local level so that the collectives are finally made aware of their own strengths and can combat negative phenomena with greater determination. Not every reader has supported us in this idea, however.

"By publishing its article, the editorial board is playing into the bureaucrats' hands," writes G. Dzyuba from Leningrad. "Until we had glasnost, bureaucrats were still rather afraid of newspaper publications, but now they could not care less.... It would be impossible to attack glasnost with greater subtlety than the newspaper has done: Why bother to write letters and put all your hopes into your 'uncles in Moscow,' the editorial offices? the newspaper said. You must solve all your problems yourselves; no one is going to do it for you...."

It was a long letter, running into several pages, so we are unable to quote it in full. The point the writer is making, however, is clear enough. He does not believe—and evidently not without good reason—in the collectives' ability to successfully combat bureaucracy and all manner of abuses, particularly if they are military collectives, which are legally bound to carry out the instructions of their military commanders without demur.

The editorial mail would appear to confirm this: We receive a great many letters relating how dishonest chiefs deal with obstinate subordinates who live by their honor and conscience. As a result of this, in a short space of time they can turn into "miscreants" after having been some of the best, are dismissed from the party, and then often "driven out" of the Army. These outcasts sometimes put up a desperate struggle in their search for truth and justice.

At this point I would like to draw attention to the fact that, essentially, a person's future is nevertheless "not decided by his superiors" but by the collective which voted to dismiss him from the party. Oh, how often we are still afraid to cross the will of our superiors lest we thereby draw unpleasantness down on ourselves, and how often we forget all about honor and dignity by failing to prevent evil from triumphing over justice. Why does this happen? Evidently because many people still do not feel confident that their collective will support them.

Finally, it is important to understand that it is impossible to guarantee the irreversibility of restructuring from above. We can only do this ourselves, and we can do it in one way only: Act now, rather than sit back to see what happens.

Seminar on Literature in Patriotic Education

PM290955 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Mar 88 First Edition p 4

[Report by Lieutenenant Colonel P. Tkachenko: "Creative Conference"]

[Text] Well-known Soviet writers in whose work the heroic and patriotic theme plays a leading part have assembled in the hero-city of Volgograd. These are emissaries of republics, Moscow, Leningrad, and RSFSR krays and oblasts.

An all-union creative conference entitled "Enhancing the Role of Literature in the Military, Patriotic, and International Education of Young People" has begun its work here. The conference is being held by the USSR Writers' Union together with the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate, the All-Union Booklovers' Society, and the Volgograd CPSU Obkom.

The conference participants laid wreaths at the Eternal Flame in the Square of Fallen Fighters and at the Mamayev Burial Mound.

The conference was opened by Yu. Verchenko, secretary of the USSR Writers' Union Board. Various reports were delivered by I. Stadiyuk, chairman of the USSR Writers' Union Military Literature Commission; B. Leonov, literary critic; F. Chuyev, poet; Lieutenant General N. Shapalin, deputy chief of the Soviet Army and Navy Main Political Directorate Propaganda and Agitation Directorate; and others.

Colonel General L. Shustko, commander of the North Caucasus Military District, and Lieutenant General G. Donskoy, member of the military council and chief of the political directorate of the district, have taken part in the conference's work.

Soviet Literature Days, devoted to the 70th anniversary of the USSR Armed Forces and the 45th anniversary of the battle of Stalingrad, will be taking place on the heroic soil of Volgograd.

Ivanovskiy Signs Obituary of I.F. Arkhipov

PM231633 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 Mar 88 Second Edition p 4

[Obituary of I.F. Arkhipov]

[Excerpts] Lieutenant General Ivan Fedorovich Arkhipov, deputy chief of the Ground Forces Main Staff, has died suddenly. He had devoted his entire conscious life to the Soviet Armed Forces and to selflessly serving the people and the Communist Party, whose ranks he joined in May 1948.

I.F. Arkhipov was born in the village of Yelizavetino in Orel Oblast's Maloarkhangelskiy Rayon on 14 August 1922. [passage omitted]

[Signed] Ye.F. Ivanovskiy, S.I. Postnikov, M.D. Popkov, D.A. Grinkevich, V.A. Merimskiy, P.I. Bazhenov, A.A. Galkin, V.P. Kuznetsov, V.M. Mikhalkin, M.Ye. Penkin, Yu.T. Chesnokov, S.I. Varichenko, Yu.A. Naumenko, I.V. Balabay, V.K. Pikalov, M.I. Goglev, N.I. Stepanskiy, S.V. Okulov, A.I. Tabak, N.G. Ter-Grigoryants, V.A. Petrov, V.A. Alekseyev, V.P. Lel[illegible] S.A. Maksimov

Air Force Delegation Arrives in Lima 24 Mar bat[Buenos Aires REUTER]

PA250434 Buenos Aires REUTER in Spanish 0250 GMT 25 Mar 88

[Text] Lima, 24 Mar (REUTER)—A delegation of 10 Soviet Air Force experts arrived in Lima to meet with high-level Peruvian aviation officials.

It was not reported officially how long they would stay or what their mission in the Peruvian capital was.

The delegation arrived on an Aeroflot flight and was received at Lima's Jorge Chavez Airport by high-ranking Peruvian Air Force officers. The Soviet Defense Ministry delegation is headed by General Gennadiy Sled [name as received].